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JOURNAL
OF THE
POLYNESIAN SOCIETY

CONTAINING

**THE TRANSACTIONS AND PROCEEDINGS
OF THE SOCIETY.**

VOL. XIII.

1904.



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THE Society is formed to promote the study of the Anthropology, Ethnology, Philology, History and Antiquities of the Polynesian races, by the publication of an official journal, to be called "THE JOURNAL OF THE POLYNESIAN SOCIETY," and by the collection of books, manuscripts, photographs, relics, and other illustrations of the history of the Polynesian race.

The term "Polynesia" is intended to include Australia, New Zealand, Melanesia, Micronesia, and Malaysia, as well as Polynesia proper.

Candidates for admission to the Society shall be admitted on the joint recommendation of a member of the Society and a member of the Council, and on the approval of the Council.

Every person elected to membership shall receive immediate notice of the same from the Secretaries, and shall receive a copy of the rules; and on payment of his subscription of one pound shall be entitled to all the benefits of membership. Subscriptions are payable in advance, on the 1st January of each year, or on election.

Papers will be received on any of the above subjects if sent through a member. Authors are requested to write only on one side of the paper, to use quarto paper, and to leave one inch margin on the left-hand side, to allow of binding. Proper names should be written in ROMAN TYPE.

The office of the Society is at present at NEW PLYMOUTH, New Zealand

The price of back numbers of the Journal, to members, is 2s. 6d.

Vols. i, ii, iii, and iv are out of print.

Members and exchanges are requested to note the change in the Society's Office from Wellington to New Plymouth, to which all communications, books, exchanges, &c., should be sent, addressed to the Hon. Secretaries.



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AS AT 1ST JANUARY, 1904.

The sign * before a name indicates an original member or founder

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 1904—S. Percy Smith, F.R.G.S.



LIST OF EXCHANGES.

THE following is the list of Societies, &c., &c., to which the JOURNAL is sent, and from most of which we receive exchanges. There is a tacit understanding that several Public Institutions are to receive our publications free, so long as the New Zealand Government allows our correspondence, &c., to go free by post.

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Anthropological Society of Australia, c/o Board of International Exchanges
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American Oriental Society, 235, Bishop Street, Newhaven, Conn., U.S.A.

Bataviaasch Genootschap, Batavia, Java.
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Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, Honolulu, H.I.

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Faculté des Sciences de Marseilles, Marseilles, France.

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Japan Society, 20 Hanover Square, London, W.

Kongl. Vitterhets Historie och Antiquitets Akademen, Stockholm, Sweden.
Koninklijk Instituut, 14, Van Galenstraat, The Hague, Holland.

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Luzac & Co., publishers of Oriental Text, 46 Great Russell St., London, W.C.

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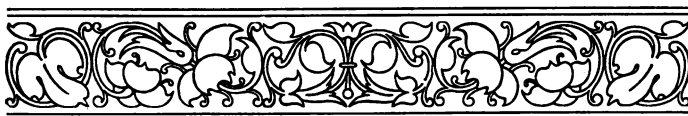
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ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY.

Held at New Plymouth, 8th March, 1904.

THE adjourned annual meeting was held as above, Mr. F. P. Corkill, member of the Council, in the chair, the following members being present :—Messrs. W. H. Skinner, J. H. Parker, W. L. Newman, M. Fraser, H. W. Saxton, W. Kerr, J. B. Roy, W. D. Webster, S. Percy Smith.

The minutes of the last annual meeting, held 27th January, 1903, together with the annual report and accounts, were read and confirmed. The two latter will be found below.

The following officers were elected :—President, S. Percy Smith ; Council, Messrs. J. P. Corkill, W. L. Newman, and Wm. Kerr (all re-elected) ; Hon. Secretary, Wm. Kerr ; Hon. Auditor, W. H. Saxton.

The following new members were elected :—

- | | | |
|-----|-----------------|--|
| 357 | Honorary Member | Professor W. Baldwin Spencer, University, Melbourne. |
| 358 | Ordinary Member | Geo. Fenwick (as representing "Otago Daily Times.") |
| 359 | Ordinary Member | Oliver Samuel, New Plymouth. |

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1903.

Presented at the adjourned annual meeting, March 8th, 1904, in terms of Rule No. 31

THE twelfth annual report of the Council must be brief. We may apply the old saying, "Happy is the country that has no history," to the work of our Society during the past twelve months, for nothing of any moment has transpired to call for particular comment. The principal work of the Society is the publication of its transactions and proceedings as embodied in our quarterly Journal, which has appeared with fair regularity. The volume for 1903 contains a few less pages, but it has more illustrations than usual. Mr. Elsdon Best's valuable papers on "Notes on the Art of War" has continued through the whole volume, and will be completed by June next. This is probably the most important contribution to the study of manners and customs of any branch of the Polynesian race that has yet appeared, and redounds to the credit of the writer. We have material on hand for continuing our Journal for a long time to come, but much of it requires translation.

The necessity for a new Maori dictionary has been apparent for some time past—one that should embody the very large amount of original matter now in the hands of some of our members, and which matter is really very large. The Rev. H. W. Williams, M.A., has undertaken the onerous task of preparing such a

dictionary, which is to be published under the auspices of the Society. The Council approached the Government on the subject of the printing, for our funds would not allow of this being done by us. The Government has met us in a very generous spirit, and therefore in a couple of years' time we may expect to see this great work accomplished. A great many gentlemen have kindly placed their collections at Mr. Williams' disposal for this purpose.

We regret the loss of some of our members through death during the period under review. The Rev. E. V. Cooper, of Leone, Samoa, died in October, 1902, and Christopher Harris, of Auckland, also during this last year. Seven members have resigned, and ten have been struck off the list for non-payment of their subscriptions. On the other hand, seven new members have been elected, which leaves the roll as follows on the 1st January, 1904 :—

Honorary Members ..	..	..	..	7
Corresponding Members ..	..	..	..	17
Life Members ..	..	..	..	7
Ordinary Members ..	..	..	..	164
Total ..				195

This shows a falling-off of ten members, due principally to those whose names have been struck off the list. But naturally the number varies from year to year.

Our financial position is fairly good, as will be seen from the Treasurer's accounts herewith, but the arrears are more than they should be—20 members owing for one year, four members for two years. Our total receipts, including balance brought forward from last year, were £212 19s. 3d.; expenditure, £185 14s., leaving a balance forward to next year of £27 5s. 3d. The capital account now stands at £84 0s. 3d., to which has to be added one life membership received late in the year.

BALANCE SHEET OF SOCIETY.

[illegible]

CAPITAL ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31ST DECEMBER, 1903.

[illegible]

Examined and found correct,
H. W. SAXTON, Hon. Auditor.
March 8, 1904.

W. H. SKINNER,
Hon. Treasurer Polynesian Society.



NOTES ON THE ART OF WAR,
AS CONDUCTED BY THE MAORI OF NEW ZEALAND,
WITH ACCOUNTS OF VARIOUS CUSTOMS, RITES, SUPER-
STITIONS, &c., PERTAINING TO WAR, AS PRACTISED
AND BELIEVED IN BY THE ANCIENT MAORI.

BY ELSDON BEST, OF TUHOE-LAND.

PART IX.

IT was a practise among some tribes, when expecting an attack, to cover the outside of the stockade of their fort with bundles of flax leaves tightly lashed on to the palisades. I am not sure as to the object of this process, whether it was a covering of green flax in order to save the palisades from fire, or simply meant to block up the narrow spaces between the palisades so that an attacking force could not see through. Neither am I sure that it obtained in the old days, before guns were introduced. A native who took part in the raid on Wellington and Wai-rarapa by northern tribes, in 1819, speaks of a *pa* so covered at the latter place. That, I believe, was the first use of guns in those parts.*

When the east coast war party, under Paetahi and others, attacked the Papakai *pa* at Maunga-pohatu, they entered the fort on a wet, miserable day, when the people were collected in a large house within the *pa*, having no watchman on duty. Surrounding the house, they speared many of the inmates by thrusting their spears through the bark roof and the *puta auahi*, or smoke hole. The others broke through the enemy and fled. Te Ika-poto and another fled together, the former wailing for his dead as he ran. His companion cried, "Why do you lament before you are in safety, leave it until you have escaped" (*te waiho kia puta te ihu*). Te Puehu received six spear wounds in this affair, but managed to escape.

* There is no question as to the use of green flax leaves tied up in bundles three to four inches in thickness, which the Maoris used as a defence against bullets in modern warfare, but it is doubtful if it is an ancient custom. Such bundles of flax would, however, be quite impervious to spears.—[ED.]

When Te Whakatohea assaulted and entered the O-te-nuku *pa* at Rua-toki, they found that only half their task was completed, inasmuch as the fort was divided into two separate and strong redoubts, by means of a massive earthwork and deep ditch run across the centre. The eastern part fell, but the defenders thereof retreated to the western half of the fort, and still defied their assailants. The latter then collected many of their long *huata* spears and laid them together across the ditch, the upper ends resting on the top of the high earthwork. Tohi-a-manu then essayed to clamber up this somewhat uncertain bridge, but one of the garrison managed to pull the spears apart, and the hapless Tohi fell into the moat. However, one Hine-auahi managed to climb up on to the earthwork and was soon followed by others. These jumped down into the fort and commenced the attack, while those in the rear pressed on to their assistance. They took that *pa*.

When the numerous force of Tuhoe, Ngati-Maru and other tribes raided the east coast in order to avenge the death of Te Mai-taranui of Tuhoe, one of the feats was the reduction of the Puke-karoro *pa* at Te Mahia. This involved a long and tedious siege, which caused much suffering among the garrison. It is said that they were so reduced by famine as to be compelled to slay and eat their children, and also ate clay to allay the pangs of hunger. Hence that siege has ever been known as Kai-uku (clay eating). The place finally fell, and many of the garrison were slaughtered.

The native forts were sometimes situated in the most inaccessible places from an attacker's point of view. On the summit of precipitous cliffs their remains are noted, places to which access must have been by ladders or a steep flight of steps. Lone rocks, *buttes* or *mesas*, were also utilised as fortresses. Some of these were most picturesque in regard to situation, such as the Pohatu-roa *pa* at Atiamuri, on the Waikato river. Others again were situated on capes or promontories extending into the sea, rivers, or lakes. A small sample of such is Te Pa-o-kapo at Titahi, near Wellington. Sometimes these were connected with the land by a narrow neck only, the other faces being precipitous cliffs.

It is difficult to understand the Maori character, their modes of thought and apparent eccentricities and incongruities. In this wise, the Maori, although he does what he thinks fit and proper, will often take an exactly opposite course to that which would be followed by an European. Many things, for instance, done in war, are somewhat bewildering to the *pakeha* mind. As for example, the singular custom, if it may be so termed, of the members of hostile parties visiting and mingling with one another, during a fight. When the Waikato host raised the siege of Te Namu *pa*, Taranaki, a member of

the discomfited horde entered the fort and had a pleasant cry with the inmates thereof, to whom he was related. He cheerfully betrayed the plans of his party, and warned the garrison against leaving the fort for some time, lest they be cut off by an ambush.*

When Ngati-Awa were preparing to march against Tuhoe, Tikitu, of the former tribe, sent a message to Tuhoe, acquainting them of the fact, and urging them to give the invaders a severe drubbing.

What time the sons of Ira were besieged in Pakaurangi *pa*, on the east coast, those of the garrison who were connected with any of the investing force, were in the habit of leaving the fort and paying visits to such relatives in the lines of investment. As the garrison were suffering severely from lack of water, these strolling gentry used to wear thick flax cloaks when leaving the *pa*, and on their return would soak them in the water as they crossed the creek, thus conveying a welcome quantity of water to the thirsty people of the fort. Hence that siege and fight has ever been known as Puweru-maku (wet clothing).†

At the present time my castle, an 8 x 10 one, stands at a place known as Pa-puweru. The origin of this place name is a singular one. In the days of yore, when armed bands of cannibals ranged the land in search of fame and fresh meat, and long before the song of the *pu titi* was heard by the Child of Tamatea, there abode the Ngati-Tuheia people here. And it came to pass that these people were in need of a rest, or something, when they heard of a hostile party on the march to attack them. Then did their village priest proceed to the trail hard by, and which led to the outer world, and there suspend a flax cape across said trail, and having endowed that garment with certain magic powers, he returned to his village, doubtless chuckling to himself at having so easily discomfited the enemy. For know one and all that, should the advancing party disregard that sign and proceed on their way to the attack, they would imagine a vain thing, and might look out for squalls in the near future. For they had disregarded the *mana* and invocations of a priest, which is a serious item. Anyhow that is the origin of the name, Pa-puweru—*pa*, to obstruct or block up—*puweru*, clothing, a garment. Q.E.D.

Other place names in this district have a similar origin, as Pa-rangiora, where branches of the *rangiora* shrub were used as an obstruction. And Pa-kaponga, on the Wai-potiki Block, where fern trees (*kaponga*) were used in a like manner.

When a *pa* fell there was generally, of course, a great killing toward, and a cannibal feast, and much human flesh carried away in baskets. The *pa* falls, the dead of the enemy are dragged together

* Gudgeon's "History and Traditions of the Maoris."

† "History and Traditions of the Maoris," by T. W. Gudgeon.

and piled in a heap, the one of highest rank being placed on top. Then one of the victors will begin to *wananga* or declaim against that dead chief, to revile the same after the manner of his kind :—" You thought yourself a great man, lofty as the heavens. But you are brought low now. You ! lying there with your legs stuck out, your staring eyes, your tongue hanging out. You will now go into my oven and provide me with a fine meal, etc." But probably some of the enemy have been spared as to their lives, and led away into slavery. And in the days that lie before, some of those may escape and return to their people, and they will say to them, " So-and-so was *wanangatia* by our foe." Then will that remain as a *casus belli* with that people. It will never be forgotten, but will sink deep into their hearts. Some time, in a year, or ten years, or a generation, it will bear fruit. Then the sons of Tu the Red-eyed will gird themselves with *tu* and *maro*, grasp the stone club and trail the pliant *huata* across far lands, as they swing out once more on the old, blood-stained trail which leads to victory and defeat, to death and slavery, and desire accomplished.

But about the *pa Maori*. It has not yet fallen.

Some curious examples of stratagem may be noted in the accounts preserved of Maori warfare. To wit : in the first attack delivered by Tuhoe on Oputara *pa* they found the defences of that old time fortress too strong to be taken by assault. Still, it would not do to retire, for Hape was inside that grim stockade, Hape of the Pu Taewa, who had slain Tahaki-ānina. So the warriors of Tuhoe collected on the flat below the *pa* and gave a free exhibition of their powers in the *haka* line. This drew the attention of the garrison, and after some time, Hape ventured forth from the defences in order to obtain a better view of the dance. While gazing at the spectacle, he was surrounded and slain by a party of Tuhoe, when the *pa* soon fell likewise. Ever since that hapless Hape has been known to local fame as Hape-ware or Forgetful Hape.

When a besieged *pa* wished the enemy to believe that the garrison had plenty of food, they would be most diligent in lighting fires at times when it would be thought it was being done in order to cook food.

Again, when besieging a *pa* the attacking force would endeavour to pull down the stockade by means of a *rou*. This is a long pole, to one end of which is securely lashed a short bar, in a transverse position. To the other end of the pole is attached a rope. Those bearing the *rou* endeavour to pass the cross bar end over the stockade, *i.e.*, between two of the palisades, and then a turn will bring the cross bar in a horizontal position across the palisades, thus giving the desired grip. All hands then " tail on " to the pole and rope, and all pull

their hardest to the time given by the time chant. In this way, with a large number of powerful men at the main ropes, the whole face of stockade might sometimes be torn down. Anon.

When Te Ahi-raratu escaped from his captors at Wai-riko, he at once started to run up the valley, crying as he ran "*Te whakaariki . . . e . . . e ! Te whakaariki !*"* until he arrived at Karioi. Tama-ngautu saw the marching column of invaders, and proceeded to challenge them (the *vero*, see ante). The column took no notice of him, but marched steadily on and invested the *pa* at Karioi, which was occupied by the Urewera *hapu* under Te Arohana, and by a division of the ancient Nga-Potiki tribe known by the euphonious name of Te Hokowhitu-pakira-o-Romairira. When the siege had lasted about two weeks one Kore-kai-whenua left the *pa* and joined the investing force. It was a *kaikai-waiu*, he was related to them. Then Te Arohana knew that the case was desperate. For Kore informed the investing force that there was no food or water in the fort. Te Arohana left the *pa* with his people and marched to the Hurahia fort. The remaining garrison at Karioi lit their fires regularly and caused plenty of smoke to rise over the stockade in order to delude the enemy into the idea that they were cooking food. To give an impression that there was plenty of water in the fortress, they performed a much more extraordinary action.

Then the attacking force came forward* with a *rou* and succeeded in gripping the stockade therewith, but a warrior of the garrison sprang forward and lashed off the cross-bar with his stone adze. This occurred several times, until the enemy gave it up.

After some waiting and consultation on the part of the invaders, one of their number came forward and called out to the garrison: "Come outside. You shall not be slain, but all of you come down to our camp." They at once returned to their camp, leaving only Puhiraka to escort the garrison down. Then the garrison, men, women and children, poured out of the *pa* and proceeded to the camp of the enemy at Te Putere. On arriving there, one of their number, Tama-whai, was seized and slain as a sacrificial offering to the *atua* or war-god of the invaders. For Tama-whai was a *tangata pāpū* or *tangata moemoea*. He had been seen in a vision by the priest of the war party and his death was necessary in order to preserve the prestige, luck, life, health and success of that party, as already explained lest the eyes of the gods turn redly upon them.

The starved garrison were given food, and then, like the knights of old, Kare-kohu-ora and Tama-riwai took the trouble on their own shoulders and stood forth to settle the matter in single combat.

* The enemy ! The enemy !

The constant strain on the mind in old fighting days must often have made for panics, as the following incident will show :—When the country from Ruatoki to Opotiki was in a state of turmoil on account of the wars of Te Whakatohea, Te Kareke, Tuhoe and other peoples, there dwelt in a certain *pa* two old chiefs and their retainers. One dark night one of these chiefs, being athirst, told a slave to bring him some water. The slave took a calabash and proceeded to descend a steep trail to the creek. But he managed to stumble and drop the vessel, which rolled merrily down the trail, striking at intervals the roots and stones on the track. The occupants of the *pa* heard these sounds and believed them to be caused by the slave's head being crushed in by blows of an enemy's weapon. So alarmed were they that all deserted the fort and fled to the forest, where doubtless they passed an unhappy night. When the slave returned with the water he was surprised to find no one to drink the same.

Several incidents of the following nature are on record :—When attacking an enemy, more especially in a night attack, a person would carry with him a dry gourd or calabash and would smash the same with his *patu* at the moment of attack, crying out at the same time that he had disposed of one man. It is stated that the sound caused by the breaking of the vessel is similar to that caused by smashing in the skull of a man with a club. I have never compared them myself. If true, it might tend to unnerve a surprised foe.

Some ten generations ago the tribe known as Te Whakatane, who were descendants of Tamatea of the Nukutere migration, were living at Te Waimana, one of their forts being at Tauwhare-manuka. Rongomai-pawa, the chief of those people, led a party to Puke-pohatu in order to hunt *kiwi* (a large wingless bird, formerly much used as food in Tuhoe-land. It was hunted with dogs). They were trespassing on the lands of Nga-Potiki (the ancient name of the Tuhoe or Urewera tribe), and hence an unpleasantness arose between them, in which Te Whakatane were defeated. They returned to Te Waimana and organised another party. It was a *hokowhiu*, seventy twice told were the warriors. Crossing the range to the Whakatane Valley, and descending near Karioi, they turned up the valley. On their way up the gorge they were attacked at an overhanging cliff by Te Rangimonoa of Nga-Potiki, and his merry men. So soon as they caught sight of each other on the narrow space between the river and cliff, the two parties ran forward and closed, for it was hand to hand fighting in the days of yore. Tama-rōkī, son of Rangimonoa, obtained the *mātāika* and again Te Whakatane were defeated. There was no escape for them in that gloomy cañon and they were slain to a man. And ever since has that place been known as Te Ana-kai-tangata-a-Rangimonoa—Te Rongimonoa's Cañon of the Cannibal Feast.

After a square meal Nga-Potiki, one hundred and forty strong, started for the Wai-mana. Just before reaching the Tauwhare-manuka *pa* they halted and employed themselves in plucking ferns and weeds, which they made up into bundles to resemble swags of human flesh. Slinging these bundles on their backs, and each man with a bunch of fern in his hand, they proceeded on to the fort of the enemy. As they approached each man walked slowly, with bended back, as though weary of carrying the loads of human flesh they were supposed to be carrying. Then they all sat down in sight of the *pa* as though resting while the proper preparations were made to receive them. When they were seen by the fort, the garrison thereof marched out in column in order to challenge and welcome their supposed friends, the victorious. Nga-Potiki rose and advanced, each man holding a quivering bunch of fern before him, so as not to be recognised as an enemy. The garrison column sent forth the *vero* (challenger), who cast his spear and returned. A second challenger advanced and cast his spear, when Nga-Potiki sprang forward in pursuit as one man. With fierce outcry they swept up to the *matua* or column of the fort, who were all kneeling down, with downcast eyes, waiting for the *whiti* cry to spring to their feet and perform the *peru-peru*. Then the weapons crashed on bare heads, and Te Whakataane flowed like water down to Hades.

And another chapter of the long drawn conquest of Te Waimana was writ in characters that all might read.

We are told that the stout and successful resistance made by garrisons was often the result of the superior knowledge, power and *mana* of the *tohunga* or priest. Thus when the famous Taraia attacked the Heipipi *pa* of Maruiwi, near Petane, that old time fort was held intact through the power of the spells of the Maruiwi priest, one Tunui by name.

And, in modern times, when eighty Taranaki held Te Namu *pa* at Opunake against five hundred Waikato, they knew full well that the credit was due to their *tohunga*, Nga-tai-rakau-nui by name.

The men selected to act as watchmen or sentries were selected from those who had keen eyesight and were quick to note all signs pertaining to war, to detect an ambush, to divine the meaning of unusual cries emanating from birds, or the sudden cessation of a bird's song, and a thousand other things which were learned only by long training in the stern school of Maori bush warfare. Such men were termed *mata-taua*. They were the eyes of a war party.

Often sentries were posted at convenient places away from a *pa*, and where a view of a reach of a track leading to the fort could be commanded. Probably one would be stationed at the edge of a bush where the track crossed a clearing or open plain. Such a place is termed a *putaanga*.

The *pu-kaea* was a trumpet used for signalling in war time, or was sounded at night by the watchman stationed on the *puwhara*, or watch tower. It produces, when blown by powerful lungs, a loud booming sound of a somewhat doleful nature. This war trumpet was made of *totara* or *matai* wood. It was made in two pieces, about six or seven feet in length. Each half was hollowed out and properly prepared and these two pieces were put together and lashed in a remarkably neat manner with *aka-tea*, a tough forest creeper, the bark being taken off before it was so used. The small, mouth-piece end, is termed the *kongutu*, and the big, bell-shaped end the *whara*. The edges of the *whara* were notched. A small piece of wood inserted in the trumpet near the mouth-piece I know not the name of.* The *pu-tatara* was made of a large sea shell and was used for signalling.

Islands on the coast, in lakes and rivers, were sometimes utilised as forts, the defences being of earthworks or stockades, according to the nature of the ground. The islet of *Tapu-tē-ranga* in Island Bay, Wellington, was so used by refugees of *Ngati-Ira*. The remains of a wall built of loose stones was there visible at the time of my visit. I have also heard that remains of defences are to be seen on *Makaro* or *Ward Island*, in Wellington Harbour, but I have never visited that arid isle. *Māna* and *Kapiti* Islands were famous strongholds in former times. At *Wai-kare-moana* the islets of *Pa-te-kaha* and *Nga-whakarara* were used as forts, and most picturesque they must have been, as also was the headland knob *Nga Whatu-a-Tama*, and another at *Mokau*. *Pa Waimori*, on the same lake, is a singular little detached hillock at the mouth of the *Hopu-ruahine* creek. It is an island when the waters of the lake are high.

O-poukehu pa was on an island in the *Rangi-taiki* river, below *Fort Galatea*. It fell to a party of *Ngati-Pukeko* warriors who swam across to it. A *pa* on an island in *Papaitonga* lake, near *Otaki*, was taken in a similar manner.

But the most interesting of lake *pa* were the artificial islets of *Horo-whenua* lake. These were constructed by the *Mua-upoko* tribe as a safe retreat from their foes. They were formed by driving stakes into the bed of the lake and filling up the enclosed space with logs, stones and earth. There were six island *pa* in that lake. They fell to the ferocious warriors of the treacherous *Rau-paraha*.

Strongholds were sometimes constructed in swamps, which were more difficult to cross than a lake. To support the *pa*, posts would be driven down until they were fixed in the solid. To gain access to such a place the attacking force would have to pass along the narrow causeway used by the garrison, and which same might be defended by

* Usually termed a *tohe*.—[Ed.]

a few men. If a natural island were in the swamp so much the better. Such was Nga Pu-kanohi, which is a hill standing in a swamp near Taneatua. Earthworks, a wall and moat, are still visible on the hill, while the swamp, having been drained, has sunk and exposed to view a series of piles which had been driven into the swamp in times long passed away. For eleven generations have come and gone since Te Kapo-o-te-rangi camped in that drear swamp.

Sometimes an investing force, by means of much labour, would construct a timber causeway to an inland *pa*, in order to deliver an attack. In this manner fell Te Roto-a-Tara *pa* on the Heretaunga side, as also an island *pa* in one of the Waihou lakes, near Tiniroto.

In making an approach to a swamp *pa* fascines would be employed, as was done at Te Ngaere.

Te Ana-puatai, a stronghold of Ngati-Kahungunu, taken by Tuhoe, Nga-Puhi and others, was a cave with a strong barricade across the mouth thereof.

A curious stronghold was constructed and occupied by the Mua-upoko tribe at a place near Otaki. It was a tree fort. Three huge pine trees, standing close together, were utilised for the purpose. Stout beams were laid from fork to fork of the branches. On these was laid a decking of timber, and upon this platform the houses were built. A fence encircled the platform, stores of food and water were kept in this aerial *pa*, as also were heaps of stones for the purpose of bombarding an enemy. On the approach of an enemy, the people retreated to their stronghold and pulled the ladders up. The platform was about fifty feet from the ground. But one fine day a war party from the far north came, bearing with them arms unknown in the south. They were muskets, and the days of the tree *pa* were numbered, or at least those of the occupants thereof. As one of their descendants informed me, "It was like shooting pigeons."

For an account of another tree *pa*, see White's "Ancient History of the Maori"—Vol. V., p. 32.

In some cases forts were provided with covered ways or passages to water.

Te Kaho, a nephew of Rongo-karae, lived at the Hui-te-rangi-ora *pa* at Ruatoki. Motumotu, of Ngati-Awa, lived at Te Tawa *pa*. The latter went to snare parrots at a certain place. He found Te Kaho there, engaged at the same task. Motu asked him for one of his decoy birds, and it was given him. He took it away some distance and killed it. Then returning to Te Kaho, he asked for another, saying that he had fallen and lost the first one. He was given two. These he also took away and killed, returning and asking for another. Kaho saw him returning again, and knew that there was treachery afoot.

So he rose up and slew him, carrying the flesh of the body to Hui-terangiora, where it was cooked and eaten. Ngati-Awa heard of this and marched to avenge the death of Motumotu. They surrounded the Kahika *pa*. Rongo-Karae, chief of the *pa*, did not like the appearance of things and set his men to work at excavating an underground passage from the fort to a gully hard by. It was completed, and the garrison escaped thereby under cover of night. When the warriors of Ngati-Awa delivered their next assault, they had no difficulty in entering the *pa*. They found it quite empty, which was annoying.

When Maru-iwi attacked the Oue *pa* at Te Wai-mana, they approached it under cover of night. Lest the garrison should hear them approaching through the brash scrub, they imitated the cries of the *kivi*, *weka*, and *kakapo*, all wingless night birds. The chief of the *pa*, Tama-ruarangi, heard the cries of the birds and said, "The food of Tama-ruarangi is quite tame," and returned to his virtuous couch. He slept well, inasmuch as he has not since wakened. And nine generations of men have lived and died since that night.

When a *pa* had been attacked and some of the garrison slain, that *pa* would become *tapu* on account of blood there spilt. If a priest of sufficient *mana* or power was available, he would remove the *tapu* from the *pa* by means of a ceremony known as *huki toto*. But if it so happened that only priests of the second or third grade were obtainable, then that *pa* would be deserted and another one built elsewhere.

Sometimes a *pa* was built more to make known a tribal policy or decision, than to be occupied or used. The Kokotahi *pa* near Tauaroa was built by Matiu and others of Ngati-Whare as an act of defiance towards Ngati-Manawa, who had joined the Government, while the former were staunch Hauhau, or rebels, as we were pleased to term them.

Mariner describes stockades erected by the Tongans, which must have resembled the Maori *pa*. Some of them were square in shape and some were circular. The defences comprised two lines of palisades which were ornamented with white shells. Two ditches were made, one outside each stockade, and the earth taken therefrom was formed into banks. Fighting stages or platforms were erected inside, like the *puhara* of the New Zealand *pa*.

When a chief paid a visit to a people residing in their *pa*, on arriving at the stockade, he would in many cases, not enter by the gateway but climb over the palisades and so enter the fort. In like manner, a young chief, in visiting an elderly relative, would often enter his house by climbing through the window, instead of passing through the doorway.

We have seen that a native of standing in his tribe had very strict notions concerning personal honour, and that it was by no means an unknown thing for a man to slay his own son on his escape from

slavery, rather than let him live and beget descendants, who would be taunted with the fact that their ancestor had been a slave. A similar occurrence took place near Rua-toki, when a *pa* at Owihakatoro was besieged. A chief in the *pa* burned his children to death rather than let them fall into the hands of the enemy. In like manner, men have been known to slay their female relatives, in desperate situations, an act quite approved of by the Maori. The last *pa* built in Tuhoe-land was erected some time in the seventies, when Ngati-Pukeko were trying to sell the O-whakatoro lands.

In the Rev. W. Colenso's account of his first trip through Tuhoe-land in 1841, he speaks of his arrival at Waikare-moana:—"We soon arrived at the village, situated on a high headland jutting into the north side of the lake (? Mātūāhu *pa*). The gateway was, as is often the case, embellished with a pair of huge and hideously carved figures, besmeared with red pigment, armed with spears and grinning defiance on all comers."

There was, of course, a change made in the construction of these native strongholds after the acquisition of fire arms. The Maori, ever intelligent and quick to grasp a situation, soon adapted his mode of warfare to suit the use of firearms. Plans of various forts, constructed and held by them during the racial war in the North Island, show how well planned their defences were. Guns might breach his palisades, but did little harm to his earthworks, and during a bombardment the wily Maori would be safely concealed in underground chambers, and hence fresh and energetic to withstand an attack by infantry. In these latter days small breastworks, consisting of a ditch and bank, termed *parepare*, were made at points of vantage, sometimes to command a track or river, or connected with a *pa* by means of a passage way, as at O-rakau, where such a small outwork was manned against the English troops.

When Tuhoe laid siege to the Tapiri *pa* of Ngati-Manawa in 1866, they built four small *pa* to enclose or command that of the enemy. Between these covering stockades were small camps, with a few men in each, so that Te Tapiri was quite surrounded. The besiegers kept on the alert at night in case the garrison tried to break through the investing lines, which they eventually did, with some loss. Ngati-Manawa state that their dead were eaten by Tuhoe on that occasion, but the latter say that merely their eyes were swallowed by Kereopa.

Unuhanga arawhata.—Should a man be living among people other than his own, and, having been injured or insulted, determine to collect his own people and attack the offenders, he will, as he leaves their *pa*, draw aside the *arawhata* or bridge from the moat, and so depart. That was a token of his intention, he had wiped the dust of that place off his feet and had severed his connection with it. Pretty soon trouble followed.

The above sketch of the *pa* Maori is remarkably imperfect. The reason thereof is simple in the extreme—it contains all I know of the subject. I will therefore conclude this sketch with an anecdote :

When the Harema *pa* at Te Whaiti fell to Col. Whitmore's column in May, 1869, the escapees fled to the bush and brush-covered terraces and there concealed themselves. When night fell, pickets of the Government force were located at Matiti and the old mission station. After dark two rockets were sent up from the captured *pa*. These greatly alarmed the unhappy refugees, who, when they saw these "flying candles," as they term them, burrowed further into the scrub and covered themselves with grass and rubbish, in order to avoid being discovered by the "flying candles" of the *pukeha*.

THE INTRODUCTION OF FIREARMS.

As observed above, the introduction of firearms caused a considerable change in methods of native warfare. The old hand to hand fighting gave place to skirmishing, and cover taking, and long distance fighting, to a great extent. The *kawan māro* was no longer seen on the battlefield, the natives became excellent bush fighters, as we found out to our cost during the slight unpleasantness which obtained between us for ten years.

The first guns obtained by the natives were flintlock muskets of various kinds, which were known as *pu-titi*, *pu-toriri*, *ngutu-pareira*, &c. They were obtained by barter from traders in the early years of the nineteenth century by the northern tribes, and by the year 1880 must have been generally known throughout the island. So keen was the desire for guns among this warlike people, that several chiefs undertook the long voyage to England for the purpose of obtaining them. So delighted were the northern tribes with the new weapons that they at once turned them against their less fortunate southern neighbours, and raids by powerful war parties of a thousand or more fighting men were made from the far north down both coasts as far as the Wellington district. Enormous numbers were slain during the intertribal wars between 1820 and 1840. Some tribes were dispossessed of their lands and forced to live as serfs to the conquerors, while others were practically annihilated, or compelled to retreat south to escape that fate.

Inland tribes, such as Tuhoe and Ngati-Tuwharetoa, obtained most of their guns and powder from coast tribes, the latter being brought into contact with white traders. The Bay of Plenty tribes, including Tuhoe, mostly obtained their first supplies of firearms from Ngati-Maru, of Hauraki. A party of Tuhoe visited that place and obtained their first guns and ammunition. Ten slaves were given in exchange for each of the guns, but the price soon fell to five slaves each. The prisoners taken by Tuhoe when they conquered the Pa-puni district, were taken to Hauraki and bartered for guns.

The expedition of Tuhoe to Hauraki for the above purpose was undertaken soon after the Ngati-Kahungunu raid on Rua-tahuna (Mahaka's raid), when Mata-ngaua was slain. The party stayed some time at Hauraki as the guests of Taraia and other chiefs of Ngati-Maru, and they joined their hosts in the battle of Taumata-wiwi. Piripi, a very old man, who died at Rua-tahuna in 1898, was a member of that expedition. He was taken prisoner by Waikato when Waiari was killed, and, long after, was allowed to return home.

After the return of the above party, the first fight in which the newly-acquired guns were used, was that of Te Kaunga, where Ngati-Awa were defeated.

The first musket obtained by Tuhoe was named Te Riaki, and the first pistol, probably an old fashioned horse pistol, was called Marama-atea. They were, of course, both flintlocks. This pistol was the only firearm carried by the band of Tuhoe which raided the Wairoa district and attacked Pohatu-nui *pa*. Te Au carried the weapon and used it in the assault to astonish and alarm the garrison. These first acquired weapons still live in song and story, as the following lament will shew :—

“ He aha kai te raro
 He pari waikohu nei
 Taoronga na te tungane ki te Pongaihu
 E roa iara nga heketanga ki Pa-harakeke
 Me tuku e au kia haere, ka hoki au i konei
 Whaia na koe kia riro mai a Tamaiti-i-pokia
 Ngarue ana i to whenua, i Toko-o-Tu
 Ka kite au i te napinga o te kope
 Na Te Au e whakakeua, ko Marama-atea.”

What strange thing is this, borne by the north wind?
 That rises like a mist before my eyes;
 'Tis the echoing wail for the brother at Ponga-ihu.
 Long was the descent to Pa-harakeke;
 I abandon them to their course, whilst I return,
 Thou followed on, that Tamaiti-i-pokia might fall.*
 The earth trembled at Toko-o-Tu,
 Where was seen the effect of the horse-pistol,
 Aimed by Te Au, and named Marama-atea.

Pistols are termed *kope* by the natives. The person Te Au mentioned was Te Au-ki-Hingarae, a famous warrior of Tuhoe.

The old fashioned flintlock muskets were used by Tuhoe until the time of Te Kooti, in the sixties, when they obtained rifles, and the old muskets were abandoned.

Te Puku-o-Wharepakau was a name given to a keg of gunpowder obtained by Ngati-Whare from a trader named White at Matata in the early days, and used in the old inter-tribal fights. New things are always given a name in this manner.

* Killed near Wairoa, H.B.

The principal articles used for barter with Europeans were flax fibre, pigs, and sometimes dried, tattooed human heads. The latter were sought as curiosities and were sent to Europe.

When the town of Auckland sprang up, the natives of Tuhoe used to drive mobs of pigs from Rua-tahuna to that town in order to sell them and obtain articles of European manufacture, a distance of some 250 miles.

When guns were first used against them, the natives thought they were some new and powerful *atua* (demon, war god in this case). The Taranaki natives, when attacked by the northern tribes in their first gun-bearing southern raid, imagined that the god Maru was slaying them in this wondrous manner.

When Nga-Puhi, Tuhoe, and other tribes attacked Titirangi *pa* in the Wairoa district they had with them the first guns seen in those parts. The garrison were informed of the approach of the army, and that they had guns (*pu*) with them. Ranga-ika said, "Let them bring their *pu* against our *pu*," meaning the *pu-kaea* or war trumpets, which he supposed them to be. When the gun bearers raised their muskets to fire, the garrison said "Why the small end of their *pu* is in front." They thought it a singular manner in which to hold a trumpet. However, they soon found out all about it, for the men crowded on the fighting stages of the fort offered a fine mark for the muskets. As the men fell, struck down by unseen missiles, the people said, "*Ha! He atua te mea nei*"—this is something supernatural.

Ngati-Awa obtained some of their guns from Nga-Puhi, after the fight of O-Kahukura, when peace was made.

When Ngati-Awa and others defeated Nga-Puhi at Motiti, they captured a cannon (*pu-repo*) from them. This gun was brought Opotiki, and used to be fired on the death of a chief.

Cartridges used to be made by the natives for their muskets and rifles. Coarse packing paper was utilised for the purpose. The paper to form the cartridge was wrapped round the *teki*, a piece of round wood or bone, to make it assume the correct size and shape before being filled. These *teki* were often carefully made and embellished with carving. I have one made of the bone of a sperm whale. It is exceedingly well made and carved. It was used by Paora Pukaha of Tuhoe when fighting against us at O-rakau.

Cartridge belts, termed *hamanu*, were made of pieces of *tawai* or *rata* bark. Holes to receive the cartridges were bored in the bark by means of a rude centre-bit made of a piece of flat iron and having a handle affixed to it. This belt was fastened round the waist with a cord or over the shoulder as a bandolier (*pakihere*).

During their war with the Europeans the natives appear to have had plenty of bar lead, powder, bullet moulds, &c., obtained from traders prior to the war. Ladles for melting lead were roughly made from pieces of flat iron, having a wooden handle attached. Match heads were sometimes used in lieu of percussion caps. When bullets ran short during the fight at O-rakau, the Tuhoe contingent made shift with peach stones, a peculiar substitute.

In some cases the old native weapons defeated guns. The gun-bearing Nga-Puhi were defeated by the gunless sons of Awa at O-Kahukura, Ngati-Hau practically destroyed the war party of Tuwhare in the Whanga-nui gorges. Other such instances are on record.

As observed, Tuhoe obtained muskets after Mohaka's raid and before Te Kaunga fight. The war party of Ngai-Te-Rangi, under Mauri, which met disaster near Turanga, had guns, as also had Te Whakatohea when they attacked the Keke-paraoa *pa* on the Waikohu-Mātāwai Block.

The thoughts of war and fighting must have been ever present with the old time Maori. He would ever be planning how to avenge some insult, real or imaginary, or expecting an attack, or executing some act of cannibalism, etc., in order to keep his hand in practice. Tribes living in open country relied on the *pa* for protection, but a bush tribe, such as Tuhoe, relied on the forest and rough country. In old fighting times, the aim among the bushmen was to have as small clearings as possible, in order to escape detection by raiding war parties. This was more practicable in their case, as cultivation was an unknown art in Tuhoe-land, until they acquired by conquest the fertile lands of Ruatoki and Te Waimana, where the *kumara*, the *taro* and the gourd plant flourished. Their food in pre-potato days consisted solely of the natural products of the forest. Hence they lived in small communities, and in most out of the way places usually. Even after potatoes were acquired cultivations were small, merely a few yards square, for the better concealment thereof. For Tuhoe were ever a small tribe in numbers, though somewhat heavy handed.

ABORIGINES OF NEW ZEALAND.

This term we apply to the first migrations of Polynesians which peopled these isles long centuries before the later migration of the same primal stock arrived in the fourteenth century.

It would appear that these original people of the Bay of Plenty district were by no means a warlike people, or at least were no match in battle for the warlike warriors of the latter migration. For instance, it is stated that Te Tini-o-Tuoi, an aboriginal tribe of Matahina, when

attacked by the Hawaikian vikings, never even attempted to defend themselves, and so were slaughtered in great numbers at Te Ana-ruru and elsewhere.

Tradition also states that Te Tini-o-Te-Marangaranga, another ancient people, whose dominion extended from the lower Rangitaiki to Taupo, and who were allied to Ngati-Māhu and Nga-Maihi, had but little knowledge of war craft, and hence fell an easy prey to gentlemen of the Tangiharuru stamp. A descendant of Ngati-Māhu informed me that the Marangaranga, in quarrelling among themselves, used no weapons, but merely their hands. This may or may not be true, anyhow the conquest of those old time people appears to have been a very easy matter.

Many of the old natives state that the ancient tribes of this district were an unwarlike people, a peace-loving people, and that it was the later migration that brought the evils of war to this land.

NAMES OF BATTLES OR FIGHTS : THEIR ORIGIN.

Battles were often named from some peculiar circumstance in connection with the fighting, and not from the name of the place where the trouble took place. We give a few examples :—

A fight which occurred at Te Kiokio was named Kohi-pi, because so many children were there captured. From *kohi*=to collect, gather; and *pi*=young of birds, but here used to denote children.

When the Warahoe tribe were defeated at Taupo, the bodies of many of them were placed in baskets (shortly to be cooked and eaten). Hence that fight is ever known as Kohi-kete (*kohi*=to collect; *kete*=a basket).

The fight between the people of Kawerau and Te Teko, already described, was named Te Wharangi, after the last man slain, who was so named.

When Ngati-Maru of Hauraki defeated the O-potiki tribes at Wai-aua, the fight was styled Paenga-toitoi because the dead lay thickly, covering the beach like a stranded shoal of *toitoi*=a fish.

When Kahuki and Tua-mutu fought out their feud at Te Motu-o-tu, many were slain in the creek, their blood reddening the waters thereof. Hence that fight is known as Wai-whereo=the reddened waters!

In like manner both tribal and personal names are sometimes derived from certain incidents in war. The tribe Patu-heuheu, now living near Galatea, acquired their tribal name from the fact that some of their ancestors were surrounded and slain in the scrub or brush-wood on the banks of the Wai-pokaia stream (*patu*=to kill; *heuheu*=scrub or brush. The Patu-wai sub-tribe derive their name from the fact of an ancestor being slain in a river (*patu*=to kill; *wai*=water or stream).

When Awa-kanoi was slain by Rakai-pāka at Puhue, Rakai turned the body of his enemy over as it lay on the ground, saying "*Ha! He ika poto te iku nei*" (This is a small fish). Hence Te Ikapoto has since been used as a personal name by the descendants of Awa-kanoi, while the Maunga-pohatu people took the tribal name of Ngati-Huri-papa (the descendants of he who was turned to earth).

Coolness and presence of mind is a desirable quality in time of war, and many illustrations might be given concerning the display of these qualities. Old Tu, of Maunga-pohatu, when he went fighting the *pakeha* at Te Karetu, nearly fell a victim to the bullets of Ngati-Porou. In the pursuit he was seen while crossing a stream and fired at. He dropped his gun and swam under water for some distance, and so escaped. During the same pursuit, Tu was once nearly surrounded by the Government troops (native allies), but he took matters so coolly that they took him for one of their own party, and so he again escaped. His eldest son was killed in the fight at Te Karetu, hence the slain youth's sister took the name of Te Karetu, discarding her former name.

Here follow a few items which have been obtained since the foregoing was written.

When Haeana, head chief of Te Marangaranga, was slain by Tangi-haruru, the wanderer, Paumapuku, a relative of Haeana, thought it high time to take a hand. He therefore marshalled his forces and marched on Puke-hinau where he slew Tangi-haruru, whose body was carried back to O-hui. The genial Pau then composed and sung the following jeering song or *ngeri*:

"E te iwi, E!
 E te iwi, E!
 Ko ru nuku, ko ru rangi, ko ru papa
 Ko te kawa i a Tiki-i-ahua
 I a Tiki-i-apoa, i a Maui
 I tohia ki te wai
 Ki a Māhu-tapoa-nui-i
 Whakarongo ake ra e Haeana
 Ki te kupu taunu a Poutini . . . a
 Me he tane pea koe, Ehine!
 E tohia ki te tohi o Tu
 E uru koe ki te haehaetanga
 O te ika na Paumapuku
 Tena ko tenei, he wahine! Hai aha koe!
 Hine-tara, E! Hine-tara, E!
 A-haha!
 Tana hoatutanga ki Pukehinau
 Pakiri ana nga niho o Tangi-haruru
 I roto i to kete tapatahi
 Na Hine-tara . . . A-hā!
 He tebe te ure! He tebe te ure!
 He maroke!"

Hence Te Ao-uru, daughter of Paumapuku, acquired the name of Himo-tara, and a hill at O-hui was named Te Tehe.

When retreating before a pursuing enemy, the boldest warriors would remain in the rear, in order to check the pursuit, and give the women and those bearing the wounded time to forge ahead.

A war party of Ngati-Kahungunu, under Takua, came to Nga-huinga, on the Rangi-taiki river, and camped at Kopua-a-toto. Their camp fire was seen by Ngati-Apa, who, in skirmishing round, encountered a portion of the hostile forces and slew them. They then marched on the camp where Tukua had remained. When near the camp, they sent forward the same number of their men as the scouts they had slain, and bearing the bodies of the dead, that Takua and his followers in camp might think they were his own men returning victorious. The warriors of Ngati-Apa were thus enabled to approach close to the camp before being discovered. Takua was slain by them. A post was erected and a pit sunk in the ground at the spot where he fell.

The Whakatohea and Ngai-Tai tribes were at peace. Karia, of the former people, thought it a good opportunity to get even with Ngai-Tai, who had slain his two sons in former troubles. Certainly the two peoples were now on friendly visiting terms, but that was all the better. It made things easier. So Whakatohea raised a large crop of *taro* and invited Ngai-Tai to a sumptuous feast. Ngai-Tai came, and many of them remained on the feast ground. The survivors fled to Torere.

Several traditions are on record concerning fights at sea between hostile forces. Also several engagements have taken place on the waters of Waikare-moana. But the native canoes were not suited to that style of fighting.

Heoi! We will now cease the long story of the rise and fall of the *kawau māro*. We have sent forth our war party with the *tapu* heavy upon them. They have held themselves as warriors true beneath the sway of the gods of old. They have returned victorious, bearing the *māwe* of their victory to the sacred altar of the war god. They have flowed like water down to Hades, on stricken fields. They rose as one man, at the sign of the charred cloak; they smote fiercely many enemies beneath the shining sun.

The old warriors who are yet with us have outlived their age, there is no place in modern life for their old associations. But the spirit is not dead, it is but weakened. When they speak of the fights of old they are the Ika-a-Whiro once more. They charge with the grim phalanx of the Children of the Mist on the bloody field of Puke-kai-kāhu, they sullenly await the behest of Te Rehu-o-Tainui on the shores of the Sea of Taupo. They join the surging crowd which

smote the rising sun, and once more go into camp with old-time comrades who have long passed away. They man once more the crumbling walls of O-rakau, and ram home the rough cartridges in the trenches of Te Tapiri.

The war trails of the men of yore are overgrown, their weapons are laid aside for ever. No more shall the *kawau māro* spring to action at the sound of the booming war trumpets, never again will the earth tremble to the rythmic thunder of the war dance. No Volscian succours may aid the war worn Sons of Tu, never more shall they lift the war trails of their fathers.

“Te whare patahi . . e hui te rongo,
E hui te rongo, e puta mai ki waho.”



WARS OF THE NORTHERN AGAINST THE SOUTHERN TRIBES OF NEW ZEALAND IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

BY S. PERCY SMITH.

PART VIII.

TAWATAWHITI.

AFTER the defeat of the Nga-Puhi expedition under Rangi-tuke (son of Te Koke), near Tamaki Heads, Auckland isthmus, about April or May, 1827, the Ngati-Whatua and their allies of lower Waikato were much elated at having delivered such a heavy blow at their old enemies. No doubt this defeat was due principally to the brave Ngati-Tipa tribe under their warrior chief Nini, whose descendants still live at Waikato Heads; but Ngati-Whatua assisted, and in so doing, wiped out part of the deep debt of revenge they owed to Nga-Puhi for the overwhelming defeat they had suffered at the hands of the latter tribe at the battle of Te Ika-a-ranga-nui in 1825. The news also, that their great enemy, Hongi Hika, had recently (about January, 1827), been wounded by a bullet in the arm at a fight called Hunuhunua, on the Mangamuka branch of the Hokianga, gave rise to hopes that the opportunity had now occurred for paying back Nga-Puhi in their own coin.

With these hopes Ngati-Whatua, aided by Ngati-Tipua and started from Waikato Heads with their canoes, by the two portages at Waiuku and Otahuhu to the Tamaki, the scene of Rangi-tuke's defeat. From the coast, passed Te Kawa Peninsula, and landing on a point, until they were met by a force probably by the Parahi, who had been in the former name of the latter tribe. A considerable slaughter was made at Waikato, and at the Thames. At this time, those who had been until late in the war would now be in a position

It was either at the end of the 18th or the beginning of the 19th century that Maunu, a chief of Nga-Puhi, crossed the Great Barrier Island, and at a time there was already a settlement of Maunu and his wife Nga-Puhi. The Nga-Puhi people now live in their canoes and sail at sea they killed Te Kahu-kahu, who composed the following Mr. Elsdon has

Ngati-Pou finally
A young man connected
named Maratea, but whose
people, and during the
the breast. This was in
to his home at Whangaroa,
1828, when he died, and
the settlers at the Bay, who had
Hongi, for fear they should suffer
nothing came of it.
Ngati-Whatua's enemy, and
in February 1825,
and this nearly led to an inter-tribal
but was happily averted by the exertions
and some other of the Missionaries, peace
1828.

time, the great enemy of Ngati-Whatua of the South, and the scourge of many of the Southern Tribes. He felt his heavy hand, from 1815 to the time of his death. No doubt a great leader in Maori warfare, but it was greatly due to his early possession of fire-arms that such terror wherever he went; but beyond that credit for being a great general. His cruelty and perhaps more marked than in other leaders of his time, and that his blind wife, Turi-ka-tuki, accompanied him and that she was his most trusted adviser. It was

Formerly occupied the whole of the country round
known as Tai-a-mai. A tribe named Ngati-
occupied at the same time as Ngati-Pou,
by Nga-Puhi. It is probably that Ngati-Miru
who is said to have settled at Whangape,
the Kura-haupo canoe.

Kahu-kaka, was spared by Nga-Puhi, for she returned to her tribe, the Ngati-Maru, when she incited them to obtain revenge for her husband's death, and persuaded Te Rohu (to whom she appealed in her lament), to undertake the duty, and the opportunity was not long wanting.

Shortly after April, 1828, an expedition sailed from the Bay under Te Rangi-tukia, to wage war on the people of Hauraki. The Ngati-Maru tribe of the Thames met him at a place called Port Jackson, near Cape Colville, and annihilated his force, only one canoe escaping back to Nga-Puhi. My friend Hoani-Nahe told me that this expedition of Ngati-Maru went to seek revenge for Te Maunu killed at the Great Barrier Island, and Ngati-Maru, who were then living on the Horotiu River, Waikato, sent forth a party under Te Rohu against Nga-Puhi, to avenge his death. They were on their way down the gulf to Aotea, and had camped for the night at Port Jackson; Nga-Puhi, under Rangi-tukia, seeing their fires, came across from Aotea in the night, and at once attacked Ngati-Maru in the darkness, when several of them were killed; but as soon as daylight appeared, the tables were turned and Nga-Puhi were defeated, losing twelve canoes, only one escaping to carry back the news. Hoani says, "this was confirmed by Hoterini 'Iawatawa in 1863 at the time of the loss of the "Orpheus," who said that he was engaged in this fight and in his flight he was chased by Whaiapu of Ngati-Maru, both reaching a rock in the sea at the same time, where Whaiapu seized Hoterini's belt, which luckily broke thus allowing him to dive off from the rock and swim to the only canoe that escaped." This expedition of Rangi-tukia's was undertaken to seek revenge for some deaths at the hands of the Hauraki people.

On receipt of the news of this second defeat of Nga-Puhi at the hands of their old enemies, it created a good deal of consternation at the Bay of Islands, as mentioned in Bishop Williams' "Christianity amongst the Maoris," p. 95, for it was reported that all the Waikato and Hauraki tribes were about to make a descent on the Bay of Islands on account of the peace having been broken by Rangi-tukia in an expedition which did not meet with the approval of the whole of Nga-Puhi. The northern tribe lost in this fight the following men of consequence, Utu-ariki, Rangi-tuoro, and Te Ngere.

The peace referred to was that made by Te Wharerahi of the Bay, who visited Hauraki in 1828, and brought back with him a number of the Hauraki people, but this did not affect our Ngati-Whatua friends, who were still living in Waikato, as exiles from their own country.

Nga-Puhi, though losing much prestige by these late defeats, were not disposed to leave an *utu* account unsquared without an attempt to *adjust it*; but it was three years before they returned to Wai-te-mata

and Waikato, and in the mean time the great battle of Hao-whenua or Taumata-wiwi (not far from Cambridge, at the foot of Maunga-tautari hill), had been fought in 1830, between Waikato and the Hauraki tribes, both of whom by this time had become possessed of many guns.

DEATH OF HONGI HIKA.

It was mentioned a few pages back, that the great Nga-Puhi leader had been wounded in an inter-tribal fight at a place called Hunuhunua, on the banks of the Manga-muka branch of the Hokianga river. This fight occurred between the Ngati-Pou* of Whangaroa (Hongi's near relatives), aided by the Roroa sub-tribe of Hokianga and Hongi's partisans. Hongi drove Ngati-Pou out of Whangaroa, and was pursuing them, when he was wounded near Oporehu. Ngati-Pou finally fled to Wai-mamaku, near Hokianga Heads. A young man connected with the Taou branch of Ngati-Whatua, named Maratea, but whose father was a Ngati-Pou, had joined the Roroa people, and during the fight managed to shoot Hongi through the breast. This was in January 1827. Hongi was carried back to his home at Whangaroa, where he lingered on till the 6th March, 1828, when he died, and great was the consternation amongst the settlers at the Bay, who had been under the special protection of Hongi, for fear they should suffer on that account. But beyond alarms nothing came of it.

Not many weeks after, Te Whare-umu, Ngati-Whatua's enemy, and who first led the attack at Te Ika-a-ranga-nui in February 1825, was killed at Waima, Hokianga; and this nearly led to an inter-tribal war amongst the Nga-Puhi, but was happily averted by the exertions of the Rev. Henry Williams and some other of the Missionaries, peace being made on the 24th March, 1828.

Thus died Hongi Hika, the great enemy of Ngati-Whatua of Kaipara in particular, and the scourge of many of the Southern tribes, who frequently felt his heavy hand, from 1815 to the time of his death. He was no doubt a great leader in Maori warfare, but treacherous withal. It was greatly due to his early possession of fire-arms that he spread such terror wherever he went; but beyond that we must give him credit for being a great general. His cruelty and treachery were not perhaps more marked than in other leaders of his time. It is said that his blind wife, Turi-ka-tuki, accompanied him in all his wars, and that she was his most trusted adviser. It was

*It is stated that Ngati-Pou formerly occupied the whole of the country round Waimate and Ohacawae, the country known as Tai-a-mai. A tribe named Ngati-Miru and another named Te Wahine-iti occupied at the same time as Ngati-Pou, and was driven out or exterminated by Nga-Puhi. It is probably that Ngati-Miru are the descendants of one Miru, who is said to have settled at Whangape, having come to New Zealand in the Kura-haupo canoe.

widely believed at the Bay of Islands that the death of both Hongi and Te Whareumu were brought about through witchcraft by Pango (or Nga-iwi), of the Ngati-Whakaue tribe of Rotorua, who was then on a friendly visit to the Bay. He was consequently in danger of his life, but was taken back to his people by Rev. Henry Williams, in April, 1828.

The following is a song composed by Tama-rehe, of Ngati-Whatua, on the death of Hongi Hika, in which he expresses his vexation and anger against Hongi on account of his man-slaying proclivities; and failing to obtain revenge against him by force of arms, he relieved his feelings in song:—

Kowai au, E Hongi, e i ?
 I riro mai a konei, e, i,
 Tera Ngati-Whatua, e, i,
 Te tangata nana i kai atu,
 Hou-wawe, Hou-moka,
 I Kai-a-te-karoro na, i,
 " To upoko ra, te Tupua-i-tawhiti " !
 Nana rawa i homai,
 Ko te kaha tuarangi,
 Hei tua i te motu.
 Ki'hinga ki raro ra—e.

By whom, O Hongi, was the deed performed,
 That sent me here, an exile ?
 There in affliction lives Ngati-Whatua—
 The people that in former times did eat,
 Hou-wawe, and Hou-moka, northern chiefs,
 At the bloody field of Kai-a-te-karoro,
 " Curses on thy head, thou stranger from afar,"
 That brought hither to this land,
 The strange and powerful weapons,
 That felled the mighty of this land
 And laid them low in death.

The writer adds, " This is a curse on the white man, who brought here guns and powder, thus, " Curses on thy head, &c." The white man is a *tupua* and the *tupua* is a *ngarara* (a lizard), of old; a rock, a *tanirha* (a monster), dwelling below the earth, even from the first making thereof. None have seen it. Such is the white man, according to the ideas of the Maoris in his ignorance."

It was at the time of Hongi's death, and the outcome of the outrageous behaviour of the Whangaroa people, that the Wesleyan Mission at that place was broken up, and the Mission removed to Mangungu on the Hokianga harbour.

The Chevalier Dillon called at the Bay in November, 1827, in the "Research," after having returned from Vani-koro island, whither he went to look for the missing French navigator, La Pérouse. He had a visit from Hongi on the 18th, who was suffering from his wound.

He told Dillion that he was about to depart immediately for Waikato, to obtain revenge for the death of Pomare in 1826; he never accomplished this object, however.

TAKING OF THE "HAWES, 1829."

A few items of interest may be gathered from the "Church Missionary Record," of the doings in the above year, but it seem to have been a year of comparative peace in the North, whatever may have been going on in the South.

On February 19th, the great chief Paue, of Waimate, died. Mr. Yates, on his return from Takou, a settlement a few miles north of the Bay of Islands, where he had been to visit the chief named Whata, met the chief Titore (whose other name was Takiri), of Waimate, on his way to Takou. He was carrying a small piece of stick as a memorial of the late Poue, which was fastened to the top of a spear, and he as the bearer was strictly *tapu*, and dared not eat till he had delivered it to the person for whom it was intended. Mr. Yates does not tell us the meaning of this, but it is probably the same ceremony that farther south is called *Te Rakau-o-te-mate*, "an ancient Maori custom, and one which was invariably carried out when a chief of any rank died. The *rakau* or stick was formerly retained for a year or longer, and was frequently taken to the *pa* of a former enemy against whom a grudge was felt. If any person (Maori) was met by the bearer of the *rakau* he was instantly killed and a war ensued. If no one was met, then the *rakau* was left, and an armed party came to attack the *pa*." *

On March 10th, died Te Koikoi, a warrior of some fame, and on the 14th of the same month, "the news was received of the destruction of Mr. Campbell's brig, the "Hawes" by the natives of southward (Whakatane). Three of her crew were killed and eaten, but the vessel and the rest of the crew were rescued by Captain Clarke." As the story of the taking of this brig is not to be found in detail in any publication now easily accessible, and as it has a certain bearing on our story, I have translated the following from Dumont D'Urville's "Voyage de l'Astrolabe," who quotes it from the "Revue Britannique," of 1880.

"On the 17th November, 1828, I left Sydney as mate on the brig "Hawes," of 110 tons and a crew of 14. The brig was commanded by Capt. John James, who had also with him twelve sailors whom we were to leave at the Antipodes and Bounty Islands. After having left

* G1.--p. 10, 1876.

ten of the men at the Antipodes Islands and two at Bounty Island,* we sailed for New Zealand, the aim of our voyage being commercial. We touched at the Bay of Islands in December, 1828, in order to take in wood and water, and then directed our course towards the East Cape, distant about 500 miles. As soon as the natives saw us, they came off in crowds in their large canoes. We had taken on board at the Bay, an Englishman as an interpreter. It was in vain that we tried to persuade the natives to exchange with us, but they refused; at which we were much surprised, for these people are very eager to obtain all that comes from Europe. But the mystery was soon cleared up; our interpreter told us they had commenced their war song and prepared themselves to attack us. Determined to make a vigorous resistance, we ran to arms and uncovered our cannon, seeing which the natives made off, for they had no intention of fighting us, but rather to take us unawares.

The object of our voyage not being attainable here, we hauled up our anchor, and made sail along the coasts of the Bay of Plenty. The natives are in great numbers here, very warlike, are robbers and treacherous. Our captain permitted some of the principal people to come on board, and treated them with respect, hoping thus to induce them to trade, and his skilful conduct succeeded in two days in obtaining as much flax as we desired. We were continually on our guard during the two days, for the islanders made many attempts to surprise us, but our vigilance, excited by the advice given us by our interpreter, baffled their designs.

We then returned to the Bay of Islands and stored our merchandise and took in provisions, then sailed for Tauranga, situated at the entry of the Bay of Plenty (of which he gives a lengthy description). We learnt that quantities of wild pigs are to be found here, and as their pursuit would detain us some time we came to an anchor. Our interviews with the natives confirmed in appearance what we had been told as to their amicable disposition, and for several days we obtained provisions in sufficiency; but that did not last long, for at the end of seven weeks we had obtained but seven tons of potatoes and three tons of cured meat.

*One of these men named Coffee, I afterwards met at the Chatham Islands, where he had settled down, married a Maori wife and had several children. The object for which these men were left on the islands mentioned, was to catch seals. Coffee described to me the life he and his mate led on the desolate Bounty rocks, their difficulties about water after the supply left with them was exhausted, and their despair at the non-return of the vessel to take them off, which, as he said had been taken by the Maoris in New Zealand. They were eventually taken off by another vessel, after suffering great hardships.

Our interpreter recommended the Captain to send a boat to Walki-Tanna (Whakatane), a place about 50 miles from Tauranga, assuring him that provisions could be obtained there in abundance. In consequence the boat was prepared, and I was put in command; the following day we left, with the interpreter and a sailor. At midnight we anchored in a little bay in front of the place, and at daybreak went up the river for a fourth of a mile, where we found ourselves opposite to a *pa*, which, like all I have seen in New Zealand, is situated on an escarped hill of a conical form.* Its natural strength is increased by an earthen parapet. To reach the place, one has to follow a winding narrow path that Europeans cannot traverse without danger, whilst the New Zealanders run with bare feet over the sharp-pointed rocks with great lightness. The natives assembled at our landing-place, saluted us with their *aieie mai* (*huere mai*), an expression of friendship which means "Come here." Our interpreter having informed them of the object of our visit, their joy became excessive; they danced and sang around us with the most grotesque actions, and declared they would render us all the service possible. They then conducted us to the home of their chief, by the path I have mentioned; it was a small hut made of posts stuck in the earth, the roof and sides made of rushes so that no rain could enter. The only opening was a small door hardly sufficient for a man to pass through, whilst the height of the hut was not sufficient to allow one to stand upright. It was surrounded by a species of gallery ornamented with coarse sculptures painted in red, which denoted the rank of the family of the chief. The huts of the other people are altogether miserable, and resemble pig-sties. They usually sleep out of doors, and only in very rough weather are they forced to use their huts. They sleep with their legs bent under them, and are covered with a mat of rushes, so that at night they look like little hay-stacks here and there.

The chief to whom we were introduced was named Ngarara, or the Lizard. He was a fine man, well-made, very tall, and of an imposing aspect. His whole body was tattooed. We found him sitting before his hut, with a beautiful mat over his shoulders. His face was painted with oil and red ocre. His hair, arranged after the manner of the country, was gathered on the summit of his head, and ornamented with plumes of the *poe*,† a very remarkable bird. As soon as he heard our desires he showed us a large number of fine pigs, which he consented to sell. I asked him to send them by land to the place where our ship was, but he responded that would be impossible

*In all probability this was the old *pa* Puketapu, just behind the present village of Whakatane.

† Possibly *pohoi*, a tuft of feather worn in the ear.

because he was at war with some of the intermediate tribes. I saw there was nothing else to do but to return to the ship, for the boat was too small to convey these provisions. Unfortunately, the wind was contrary and the sea very rough, so we were obliged to beat and keep well out. The following night the wind freshened from the north-west; we took in reefs and our little boat did better than we could hope, but at daylight we found ourselves so far to leeward of the river, that we were forced to return to Whakatane. The wind having fallen somewhat, we took to the oars, and at three o'clock in the afternoon found ourselves where we started from the day before. I decided to communicate overland with the Captain, and as neither the interpreter nor the sailor would go, on account of fear of the natives, I determined to go myself, engaging one of the chiefs to accompany me. (He then describes the difficulties of the route—rivers, heavy beaches, &c.—and mentions the quantity of flax, *kaikatea* (*kahikatea*) trees and the *koudi* (*kauri*), in which of course, he is mistaken, for no *kauri* grows south of Tauranga. The writer also mentions that orange trees had been introduced at that time. After two days and nights, having had care to avoid any natives, he arrived at the ship, where he gave his guide two tomahawks and some powder.)

As soon as the Captain heard we had found plenty of pigs at Whakatane, he up-anchor and started, arriving off the place the following night. The people appeared very pleased to see us, coming off in large canoes with abundance of provisions, which we purchased without coming to an anchor. Ngarara came on board and treated us with an apparent cordiality; his people seemed animated with the same sentiments, and in conformity with his orders, kept off at a distance from the vessel. We arranged our purchases along the deck as well as possible, so we might stow more; but the wind freshening from the south-east, we returned to Tauranga to kill and salt our pigs. But the quantity was not sufficient, and we therefore again got under sail for Whakatane, where we arrived on the morning of March 1st, 1829. The weather was beautiful and we cast anchor between the isle Maltora (*Moutohora*) and the main. Hardly had we arrived when the natives came off in great numbers; we only wanted twenty pigs, and those were all we bought.

On Monday, 2nd March, at six o'clock in the morning, the boat was sent ashore with an officer and eight men, including the interpreter, to kill and prepare our pigs at a hot spring we found not far from our vessel. (This spring is on Mou-tohora isle). An hour after mid-day, we called to them to come on board to dinner, but as they did not understand, the captain went to look for them, leaving me and three men to take care of the vessel, not suspecting the perfidious intentions of the natives. Ngarara was on board at that time with

ten or twelve of his people. I remarked several times that they were talking vehemently about the *kaipuke* (ship), and suspecting some treachery I told the supercargo, who was a Tahitian, to bring out the sabres and to watch Ngarara whom I saw preparing his arms. On this, the natives sprang into the shrouds of the main mast, having each his musket, which they had hitherto concealed in their canoes. At this critical moment we had no pistols on deck, and I felt sure, if one of us descended to get them, Ngarara would profit by it and commence the attack. As our muskets had been placed in the mizen-top not only because they were safer there, but for fear of a surprise, I ordered one of the men to go aloft and fire at Ngarara; but as he was not so well-assured of the evil intentions of the natives, he refused to obey. There was not a moment to lose; I went myself into the top and ordered the men to keep a strict watch. Unfortunately my men would not listen to me, saying that I meditated the death of an innocent person, and continued to joke amongst themselves. But as soon as Ngarara saw me in the top occupied in unloosing the muskets, he fired at one of our men who was only three paces from him and who was playing with a sword; the ball passed through his head, which Ngarara immediately cut off with his *mere*, a sort of short club terminated with a sharp flint. All his men then jumped on to the deck and our two poor sailors were both massacred. They then fired at me without hitting me, but at the moment that I was aiming, Ngarara sent a ball through my right arm, which broke the bone. When they saw me fall down in the top, they commenced a war-dance, with horrible yells, and then proceeded to pillage the ship. Although I was nearly fainting with pain, I remarked that in the excitement of the pillage, the miserable natives had no regard for the authority of their chief, and as they would not obey, some of them were killed on the spot. Their diligence in filling their canoes was extreme. Ngarara ordered one of his men to come and seize me; that man not being able to accomplish this by himself, called others to his aid, and I was thus carried to the canoe. By this time the sun had set, and the savages pulled hard to enter the river before dark, which at any time is dangerous. We got in safely, although we had to pass in on a breaker. Some of the canoes, principally those in which were our arms and munitions, capsized; the natives managed to save themselves, but they lost their canoes and their booty.

I did not know what had befallen the captain and the crew; but thought they had all been cut in pieces, and fancied myself the surviving victim. Destined to suffer on the part of these savages the most horrible tortures prior to their satisfying their passion for human flesh, I regarded with indifference the loss of their canoes, and in spite of the agony of mind and body in which I was, I saw

with ravishment that act of justice. When we arrived at the village, the women surrounded us, chanting and dancing, making demonstrations of extravagant joy, and praising their heroic masters for the courageous action, in their opinion, which they had performed. After the natives had disembarked their plunder, they lighted large fires, around which they gathered, the light of the fires showing more clearly their horrible contortions. They appeared to be holding a violent discussion; I understood enough of their language to know that I was the object that occupied them so violently. My fate seemed inevitable, the greater number of the savages demanded my death; but it was ordered otherwise. I owed my safety to the chief who had served me as guide to Tauranga, and who interceded for me, promising that if my ransom did not arrive at a fixed date, he himself would kill me; adding that a musket was much more valuable than my life. This argument decided the natives to postpone my death.

He then conducted me to his hut, where all the troubles of that day presented themselves to my mind, and I thanked God for his mercy in my miraculous deliverance and implored his pity.

I passed the two first nights without closing an eye: all that I had experienced, and the pain caused by my arm rendered sleep impossible. My groans so troubled my host towards daylight that he put me outside his house, and I crawled under shelter near by. During these two days no one dreamt of helping me; eventually I found a piece of leather, which I placed in the form of a splint on my arm, and tearing up my socks used them as a bandage, my host tying it on against the wound; I often went to the river to bathe it, where one of my guardians accompanied me. The ball had traversed the bone and remained in, nor could I extract it.

The second day of my captivity, as I was at that side of the *pa* facing the bay, the view of a schooner attracted my attention. She was close to our unhappy vessel, of which nearly all the rigging had been taken, I saw the natives abandon her in great haste, whilst the schooner endeavoured to tow her away. I begged of the miserable natives to take me off to her, promising them my ransom and extra payment; they were deaf to my prayers. One may conceive better than I can express, what I felt on seeing the two vessels departing, by which alone had I any chance of safety. I therefore tried to resign myself to my fate, which seemed inevitable; but the love of life and the thought of the greater danger I had escaped, caused a ray of hope to enter my heart. That which occurred the following morning was not, nevertheless, of a nature to diminish my mortal anguish. One of the natives brought to me the head of one of my unfortunate companions; it was that of the Tahitian, which they had prepared with great care, and had tattooed. In this manner they preserve

quantities of heads, and it forms one of their branches of commerce : I trembled at the idea that possibly mine would share the same fate before long.

On the morning of the fourth day of my captivity, I was much alarmed in seeing the natives surround me. I demanded the reason ; they told me the people of Tauranga, a neighbouring tribe, were about to attack them with forces superior to their own. Shortly after, Ngarara appeared with the captain's sextant ; he gave it to me and told me to observe the sun and inform him if it was really true that the Tauranga tribe was advancing towards them. To refuse would have been fatal to me, though I did not pose as a prophet. At the same time, reflecting from the well-known character of these natives that the news of the pillage of our ship would excite the cupidity of the neighbouring tribes, I obeyed the orders of Ngarara, observed the height of the sun and demanded a book, which I studied attentively. "Yes." I said, "The tribe of Tauranga is advancing towards your people with hostile intentions." "And when?" demanded he. At this I felt greatly agitated, and knew not what to answer. "To-morrow," I said. He appeared satisfied, and prepared for a vigorous defence.

The natives constructed at the foot of the *pa*, towards the riverside a kind of rampart of earth four feet high, on which they placed our cannon and then waited with impatience, but without fear, the approach of daylight next day. I fancied I heard a discharge of musketry, when Ngarara burst into my hut and told me that the attack was about to take place, just as I had predicted. His confidence in my predictions now knew no bounds ; and he prayed me to inform him if he would conquer. I told him yes, which inspired his people with fresh confidence, my previous prediction having been so promptly fulfilled. The enemy was at that time on the opposite side of the river, and had commenced a brisk fire, which those of Whakatané replied to vigorously. One of them conducted me to the rear of the *pa*, thinking I should be in less danger there, for my life had become an object of solicitude. I shortly heard the report of one of our cannon, then shouts of victory ; the discharge had produced such fear in the assailants, that they fled as soon as they heard it. Ngarara came to me with several chiefs, addressed me as the *atua* (god). They cut off the heads of the prisoners they had taken, then cleaned and washed the interiors of the bodies and afterwards cooked them. The avidity shown by these savages, men and women, in that horrible repast, persuaded me that they preferred human flesh to all other.....

(The author then describes how heads are preserved, but his account presents nothing new).

Nothing interesting occurred to me until the 9th March. On that day I learned with a joy impossible to describe, that my ransom had arrived; that extraordinary deliverance was due to the following circumstances:—

When the captain quitted the ship to go ashore, the first that he saw was a native bearing one of the swords of our men, and when he had found the men, he learnt that they had been robbed of their arms. He at once gave the order to man the boat, but found that the oars had been stolen; and they saw one of the natives who had taken them, on a rock with them. Our men gave chase with such vigour that he threw away the oars and fled. As they returned towards the boat the savages hidden behind the rocks fired on them, but happily did no harm. They had hardly left the shore, when they discovered that the natives were in possession of the brig. They were without arms, consequently it was useless to think of trying to save the vessel. They therefore put to sea, taking a north-west direction, pulling hard, and they were sufficiently lucky to fall in with the schooner "New Zealand," Captain Clark, from Sydney, and who took them on board. The latter captain, on hearing the state of our ship, resolved to retake her, which he did, as we have seen. The fragments of human flesh spread about the deck, and the remains of fires they had lighted, left no doubt that the unhappy ones left on board had been devoured by these cannibals. The schooner then returned to Tauranga, where they learnt that I was still alive and a prisoner at Whakatane. The captain sent off two chiefs to carry the muskets for my ransom; they went by land and arrived on the 9th of March. I left with them immediately, but my weakness, due to the wound, rendered the journey much harder than on the previous occasion; I had great trouble in managing to cross the mountains, covered as they were with high ferns, dripping with dew, and was not in consequence able to sleep. . . . We had to make many detours to avoid the inhabitants. After three days and nights of very hard travel we reached Tauranga, where I had the inexpressible pleasure of finding my captain and messmates. . . .

We arrived at the Bay of Islands on the 15th March, when the captain took me to the Rev. Mr. Williams, a missionary established in those parts, but not being a doctor, he could only give me a powder to prevent the excrescence of the flesh of my wound. I left for Sydney on the 17th March, on board the "New Zealand," and we arrived on the 25th. I thus passed twenty-three days without any help or medical assistance. They extracted three bullets out of my arm, and the surgeon wished to amputate it, but to this I would not consent. After staying three months in Sydney, during which my wound healed, *I returned to England, arriving there after a voyage of four months.*"

THE DEATH OF NGARARA.

I have said that the taking of the "Hawes" was connected with our story, and the following, copied from J. A. Wilson's "Life of Te Waharoa," shows the connection and the sequel. "When the news of the cutting off of the "Hawes" reached the Bay of Islands, some Europeans resident there, considered it necessary to make an example of Ngarara. They therefore sent the "New Zealander" schooner to Whakatane, and Te Hana, a Nga-Puhi chief acquainted with Ngarara, volunteered to accompany the expedition. The "New Zealander" arrived off Whakatane, and Ngarara encouraged by the success of his enterprise against the "Hawes," determined to act in the same manner towards this vessel. But first, with the usual cautious instinct of a Maori, he went on board in friendly guise for the double purpose of informing himself of the character of the vessel, and of putting the *pakehas* off their guard. Ngarara spent a pleasant day, hearing the *korero* (news) and doubtless doing a little business; so much so that his was the last canoe alongside the vessel, which latter it was arranged should enter the river the following morning. Meanwhile, our Nga-Puhi chief sat quietly and apparently unconcernedly smoking his pipe on the taffrail, his double gun, as a matter of course lying near at hand; yet was he not unmindful of his mission or indifferent to what was passing before him. He had marked his prey, and only waited the time when Ngarara, the last to leave, should take his seat in the canoe. For a moment the canoe's painter was retained by the ship, "but in that drop of time," an age of sin, a life of crime, had passed away, and Ngarara had writhed his last in the bottom of his own canoe—shot by the Nga-Puhi chief in retribution of the "Hawes" tragedy, in which he had been the prime mover and chief participator.

"One of the natives who took part in the "Hawes" tragedy was a Nga-Puhi man, who at the time was visiting at Whakatane, but usually lived at Maunga-tapu, near Tauranga, having taken a woman of that place to wife. It so happened that Waka-Nene, of Hokianga, afterwards Tamati-Waka, and our ally in the first war between the Maoris and the Government, at the Bay of Islands, 1843-4, was on the beach at Maunga-tapu, when this Nga-Puhi man returned from Whakatane to his wife and friends. Tamati-Waka advanced to meet him and delivered a speech, pacing up and down in Maori style, while Ngati-he, the people of the *pa* sat round. "Ugh! you are a pretty fellow," said, Tamati, "to call yourself a Nga-Puhi. Do they murder *pakehas* at Nga-Puhi in that manner? What makes you steal away here to kill *pakehas*? Has the *pakeha* done you any harm that you kill him? There! that is for your work," he said, as he suddenly

stopped short and shot the native dead, whom he was addressing, amidst his connections and friends. This action, bold even to rashness on Waka-Nene's part, stamped his character for the future, throughout the length and breadth of New Zealand as the friend of the *pakeha*—a reputation he has since so well sustained."

The revenge taken by the Whaka-tohea people, with which tribe Ngarara was connected, for his death, belongs only indirectly to this story. But in the course they took they secured the death of an unfortunate white man then staying at Hicks Bay.

It would appear from a narrative written by the late Major Ropata Wahawaha, that on board the "New Zealander" schooner were some Ngati-Porou people on a visit to the Bay of Islands, to which place they had been urged to proceed by Uenuku, a chief of Ngati-Porou, and that it was in course of their voyage back to the Bay that Ngarara was shot. After the occurrence, the Ngati-Awa people of Whakatane (Ngarara's people), having seen the Ngati-Porou on board, came to the conclusion that Ngarara's death was due to the influence of the latter tribe. So they arose, together with the Whaka-tohea, Whanau-a-Apanui and Whanau-a-Ehutu tribes and proceeded to Whare-kahika (Hicks Bay), and laid seige to the *pa* at Omaru-iti there. Here Tu-tohi-a-rangi, Uenuka's son was killed, together with a white man named Tera (? Taylor), whilst another named George, escaped by swimming off to a rock, whence he was rescued by a ship's boat belonging to a whaler, which happened to call in at that place in the very nick of time. Tera's body was burnt. This was either in the end of 1829, or the beginning of 1830.

Subsequently, in 1831, Ngaure and Whare-tomokia of Nga-Puhi, with their people were returning from a friendly visit to Ngati-Porou, of the East Coast, by canoe, when Te Whanau-a-Apanui tribe, having heard of their passing along the coast, thought this too good an opportunity to be lost, so manned a canoe and gave chase. They came up with the Nga-Puhi chiefs off Whakaari, or White Island, and after a fight succeeded in capturing the canoe, and killed most of the crew. Thus was some revenge obtained for Ngarara's death, but it led to consequences perhaps little anticipated by Te Whanau-a-Apanui tribe, as we shall see later on. At this time the Nga-Puhi chief Te Wera was still living at Te Mahia Peninsula, and had been at enmity with Ngati-Porou, but the death of the two Nga-Puhi chiefs, together with that of Tu-tohi-a-rangi, son of the principal chief of Ngati-Porou, appears to have ended the enmity and engendered a common desire for revenge against the people of the Bay of Plenty in which Nga-Puhi played a prominent part, but not till 1834. But to return to the North, for a few items from the "*Missionary Record*."

On May 22nd, 1829, the Rev. W. Williams met at Kawakawa, Bay of Islands, a Maori chief who had lately returned from a visit to Tahiti. This is worth noting, in order to put us on our guard against accepting as original traditions of the Maori, matters that this and other Maoris may have learned in their whaling voyages to the central Pacific. Not that there is much danger of this occurring from Nga-Puhi sources, for that tribe has probably contributed less towards the ancestral history of the Maoris than any other tribe.

22nd June, Rev. W. Williams went to Kerikeri to visit the well-known Nga-Puhi chief Rewa, "who had severely injured his hand by the bursting of a gun. It was necessary to amputate three of his fingers, which I proposed to do, but the superstitions of the people were so great that every one was opposed to it, and I was also given to understand that if I had cut his hand, a party of strange natives who had just arrived from the southward to visit Rewa, would probably have been cut off by Rewa's people as a payment for his accident." This was strict Maori law; some one had to suffer, whether he was the wrong-doer or another was not of much consequence. A noticeable instance of this occurred the following year, as we shall see. This party of natives from the south appears to have returned on August 6th. Who they were is not stated, but probably were some of the Ngati-Porou people. The Rev. J. D. Lang describes Rewa in 1839, as follows:—"He is as fine a looking man as I have ever seen, tall, muscular, athletic, with an expression of kindness on his open countenance, which it is impossible to mistake, notwithstanding the tatooing with which his face is disfigured. His daughter is one of the handsomest native women I have seen."

At this period there appears to have been a Maori god of some note, established at the Bay, named "Whiti," who communicated with the people by a whistling sound, produced by the priest by means of ventriloquism.

April 24th, 1829. All the natives round Waimate proceeded to Whangaroa to the *hahunga*, or "bone-scraping" of Hongi Hika's bones. This was an old custom and the occasion of much feasting, together with some wailing by the relatives, when the bones of distinguished persons, after the body had been buried for about a year, were exhumed, scraped clean, painted red with *kokowai*, or red ochre, and then finally deposited in the family vault, usually a cave or chasm only known to a very few.

THE GIRLS WAR (so called), 1830.

In 1830, an occurrence took place at the Bay of Islands, which is very illustrative of Maori customs, and which led to further Nga-Puhi expeditions against the southern tribes. It has been called the "Girls

War," for this reason :—The captain of a whaler, then anchored off Kororareka (afterwards Russell), to which place very many such ships came in those days for fresh provisions, &c.* took to himself two Maori girls as wives. Tiring of these after a time, he took two other and younger girls, sisters, and discarded the first pair. Not long after, the four girls were bathing on the beach at Kororareka, and were sporting and chaffing one another, whilst their mothers looked on from the shore. From chaff they got to abuse, and finally to cursing in the Maori sense. The mother of the first two girls rushed into the water and nearly succeeded in drowning the other two girls. The first two girls were said to have been connected with the family of Te Morenga, an influential chief of Kawakawa, whilst the ladies who succeeded them in the affections of the captain, were connected with Rewa's family, one of the most important of the Bay chiefs. This incident led to great disturbances, for insults of the nature offered could not be brooked by the old-time Maori. Ururoa, a chief of Whangaroa and brother-in-law of the late Hongi Hika came to Kororareka with a large force and proceeded to plunder the *kumara* plantations of the local people, *i.e.* Te Morenga's and Pomare's tribes. This was on the 5th March, 1890. The missionaries used their utmost persuasion to avert a conflict, for the two parties were now in close proximity; but on the following day, owing to the accidental discharge of a musket which killed a woman of the invading party, a general fight was brought on in which a good many people were killed and more wounded—Rev. Mr. Davies says nearly one hundred. Amongst the slain was Hengi of Takou, north of the Bay, a chief of some rank.

On the 8th March, 1890, arrived at the Bay, the Rev. Samuel Marsden and his daughter. Naturally he used his great influence to assist the resident missionaries to make peace between the fighting tribes, most of the members of which were related; indeed it is said that often fathers, sons and brothers were fighting against one another on either side. A peace was made on the 17th March in the presence of about a thousand natives, and ratified on the 18th, "When," says the Missionary Record, "a chief from Ururoa's party repeated a very long song, with a small stick in his hand, which at the conclusion he broke and threw down at the feet of the ambassador of the opposite party. The meaning of this was, that hostilities had been broken off. The latter chief then repeats a similar form of words and casts down his broken stick at the feet of the former speaker."

* An old settler informed me in 1880, that he had seen over sixty whale ships at one time, anchored in the Kawakawa river, opposite Opua.

Thus peace was made, so far as Nga-Puhi was concerned ; but Hengi's two sons, Mango and Kakaha, were not satisfied with the *utu* obtained for their father's death, and proceeded to arrange for a hostile expedition against the tribes of the south, "*Kia ngata ai te ngakan pouri*,"—to assuage the darkness of the heart. This was, of course, in strict accordance with Maori law : someone must suffer, and as they could not attack their relations, the Bay of Islands people, after peace had been made, they used this as an excuse for a raid on the innocent tribes of the Bay of Plenty.

But, Mr. C. F. Maxwell tells me, there was another *take* also, inducing the Takou people to seek revenge. He says, "I will now explain why Ngati-Kuri (of Whangape, west coast, north of Hokianga), joined Nga-Puhi and formed part of the *ope* which devastated Tuhua, and were afterwards cut off and eaten by Ngai-Te-Rangi at Motiti. When Hengi was killed at Kororareka in 1830, by Ngati-Manu, he left two sons, Mango and Kakaha, by a Ngati-Kuri woman, and also a young wife. After his death, Tareha, the great Nga-Puhi chief, of Ngati-rehia *hapu*, took the young widow to wife. The two stepsons objected and brought her back. In revenge, a Nga-Puhi *taua* came down and destroyed the *kumara* cultivations of the brothers. This naturally caused much annoyance and the brothers therefore decided—"We will go south and obtain payment, or die at the hands of strangers, for those who have injured us are of our own tribe."

They sent to their mother's people, and about 200 of the Ngati-Kuri joined them. The *take* or reason of these people consenting to join in the expedition was this :—Whare-tomokia of Ngati-tautahi, had been way-laid and slain by Te Whanau-a-Apanui at Orete, Bay of Plenty, while returning from a visit to Waiapu, some of his people being retained as slaves. It was to obtain *utu* for this, and to release the prisoners that they joined the expedition."

The date of Whare-tomokia's death was apparently 1831 ; he was with Nga-ure as described on page 84.

AHUAHU, 1830, AND MOTITI, 1831.

The record of Mango and Kakaha's expedition to Ahuahu, or the Mercury Islands in the Bay of Plenty, are more meagre than usual, nor can I ascertain the exact date of their departure from Takou, a few miles north of the Bay of Islands. It was, however, somewhere about July, 1830, for the Rev. W. Williams says, July 18 :—"A party from Kororareka, who were concerned in the late fight (March, 1830), are about to proceed to the south to fight with any they meet with, though they are not at hostilities with any in the south at present. They are going to obtain satisfaction for one of their chiefs killed at Kororareka, as they cannot conveniently obtain it from the people

who killed him." The expedition was a small one, only about one hundred warriors taking part in it, and probably not more than two or three canoes. The war-party fell unexpectedly on the unfortunates living at Ahuahu, or Great Mercury Island, and killed a great number of them. They then attacked Maunga-tapu *pa* at Tauranga, but suffered a repulse at the hands of the Ngai-Te-Rangi tribe, after which they returned home to the north.

On the 20th January, 1831, the Rev. A. N. Brown, notes:—"The accounts received from the south are disturbing; many have been cut off." This apparently refers to the above expedition. He adds, "During the past four months there has been much fighting amongst the people living thirty miles south (of the Bay) and at Hokianga."

I remember hearing an incident of this massacre at Ahuahu Island, which adds another instance of the remarkable tenacity of life of the Maori. A man had been tomahawked by Nga-Puhi (a terrible wound), and was left for dead. He came to himself, apparently some time after the fight, to find himself the sole survivor of his people. Nga-Puhi had left, after holding the usual feast. The poor fellow bound up his head as best he could, got something to eat, then swam the two and a-half mile channel separating Ahuahu from the mainland, and finally after many days of wearisome travel, turned up at Coromandel, where his friends lived. He survived for many years afterwards.

The defeat suffered by Nga-puhi at Maunga-tapu, Tauranga, naturally necessitated a retaliatory expedition to wipe it out; and moreover, the late Hengi's relatives and tribe felt that the massacre at Ahuahu Island had not satisfied their lust for revenge. Another expedition was therefore decided on, this time to be commanded by Te Haramiti, an old priest of Matauri, near Takou. Apparently the expedition started from the Bay early in 1831, for news had reached the Bay, of the Nga-Puhi defeat in March, as the following extracts show:—

March 6th, 1831.—Rev. W. Williams says, "News has just arrived that a party of about fifty natives from Takou which went down south about two months ago to kill all that came in their way are entirely cut off at (or near) Tauranga." The Rev. A. N. Brown under March 5th, says: "Went to Rangihoua (at the Bay.) A desperate battle has been fought at the south, only one man has returned out of the party that went from Takou, consisting of twenty chiefs, forty slaves, seven canoes and two cannon. This party, before they were surprised had cut off and destroyed at different places over 800 natives." March 11th:—"A few of the natives from Whangaruru (a little south of the Bay) joined the expedition from Takou which has been cut off

from the south. A large party from inland are now gone to Whangaruru to eat up all the food of those who have been killed, whilst the children and wives will be left desolate." This proceeding of course, was the law of *muru*, and the "inland people" would thus reason: these Whangaruru people had no business to go and get killed; the tribe thereby loses a number of good warriors; their relatives must suffer for it.

The best account of Te Hara-miti's expedition is that given in Mr. J. A. Wilson's "Life of Te Waha-roa" so often quoted, which I copy here, with the addition of a few notes of my own.

"Undaunted and undiscouraged by want of success, Nga-Puhi again sent forth a *taua*, led by Te Hara-miti, a noted old priest. As this war-party was a small one of 140 men, it was arranged that a reinforcement should follow it. In 1882 (read 1881) Te Hara-miti's *taua* set out, and landed first at Ahuahu where about one hundred Ngati-Maru were surprised, killed and eaten.* The only person who escaped this massacre was a man with a peculiar shaped head, the result of a tomahawk wound then received. He said, as he sat in the dusk of the evening in the bush, a little apart from his companions, something rustled past him, he seemed to receive a blow, and became insensible; when next he opened his eyes, he saw the full moon sailing in the heavens; all was still as death, he wondered what had happened. Feeling pain, he put his hand to his head, and, finding an enormous wound, began to comprehend the situation; at length, faint for want of food, and believing the place deserted, he cautiously and painfully crept forth, to find the bones of his friends, and the ovens in which they had been cooked. Food there was none; yet, in that wounded condition he managed to subsist on roots and shell fish until found and rescued by some of his own tribe, who went from the mainland to visit their friends who had been slaughtered. How the wretched man lived under such circumstances is a marvel.†

"From Mercury Island, Te Hara-miti's *taua* sailed to Tuhua (Mayor Island) where they surprised, killed, and ate many of Te Whanau-a-Ngai-Taiwhao. A number however took refuge in their rocky and impregnable *pa* at the east end of the island, whence they contrived to send intelligence to Ngai-Te-Rangi at Tauranga of Nga-Puhi's irruption. The Nga-Puhi *taua* remained several days at Tuhua, irresolute whether to continue the incursion or return to their own country. A few men of the *taua*, satisfied with the first slaughter,

*I think this refers to the previous expedition under Mango and Kakaha of the previous year, which, there is no doubt did kill about 100 people at Ahuahu.

†It will be noted that Mr. Wilson's account of this incident differs but little from my account given on a previous page.

had wished to return from Mercury Island; but now all, excepting Te Hara-miti, desired to do the same.* They urged the success of the expedition; that having accomplished their purpose, further operations were unnecessary, that they were in the immediate vicinity of the hostile and powerful Ngai-Te-Rangi, who, should they hear of the recent attack, would be greatly incensed; that their own number were few, and there appeared little hope of the arrival of the promised reinforcements, and that though the tribes in the south possessed only a few guns, yet they no longer dreaded fire-arms as formerly, when the paralysing terror they inspired so frequently enabled Nga-Puhi to perpetrate the greatest massacres with impunity—hence Pomare and his *taua* had never returned from Waikato. To these arguments Te Hara-miti, their priest and leader, replied that, though they had done very well, the *atua* (god) was not satisfied, and they must therefore try and do more. He assured them that the promised succours were at hand and that they were required by the *atua* to go as far as the next island, Motiti, whence they would be permitted to return to the Bay of Islands. To Motiti, or Flat Island, accordingly they went; for Te Hara-miti, their oracle, was supposed to communicate the will of the *atua*, and they of course like all New Zealanders of that day, whether in war or peace, scrupulously observed the forms and rites of their ancient religion and superstitions, and obeyed the commands of their spiritual divinities, as revealed by the *tohungas* or priests.

“The Nga-Puhi, when they arrived at Motiti, were obliged to content themselves with the ordinary food found there, such as potatoes and other vegetables, with pork, for the inhabitants had fled. But this disappointment was quickly forgotten when the next day at noon a large fleet of canoes was descried approaching from the direction of Tuhua Island. Forthwith the cry arose, “Here are Nga-Puhi, here is the fulfilment of Te Hara-miti’s prophecy,” and off they rushed in scattered groups along the south-western beach of Motiti to wave welcome to their friends.

“Let us leave this party for awhile to see how, in the meantime Ngai-Te-Rangi had been occupied. As soon as the news from Tuhua reached Tauranga, the Ngai-Te-Rangi hastily assembled a powerful force to punish the invaders. Te Waha-roa (of Ngati-Haua, of Mata-mata, Thames Valley inland), was on a visit to Tauranga, and by his prestige, energy, and advice, contributed much to the spirit and

*Mr. Maxwell tells me, that Kauae-hapainga, a priest of Ngati-Kuri—which tribe formed part of the expedition—had cast the omens, and found them unfavourable to a further extension of the Nga-Puhi operations, and he advised a return home, but Te Hara-miti overruled this.

activity of the enterprise. In short, so vigorous were Ngai-Te-Rangi's preparations that in a few days a fleet of war canoes, bearing one thousand warriors led by Tu-paea* and Te Waha-roa, sailed out of Tauranga Harbour and steered for Tuhua. (My notes add the following:—Prior to starting, recourse was had to the seer or *matakite*, to communicate with his god to ascertain whether the expedition would be successful. The seer's name was Tawaha, and in his sleep he heard his *atua* chant to him the following:—

Maunga-nui, nau mai haere !
Maunga-roa, nau mai haere
Kia kite koe i Wai-hihi,
Kia kite koe i Wai-haha,
Te inakeretanga o tona ure,
Ki roto te wai o Hiha !

Great mountain, thou art welcome,
Tall mountain, thou art welcome.
When thou shall see Wai-hihi,
When thou shalt see Wai-haha,
Then shall his courage fail,
In the waters of Hiha.

This was deemed quite satisfactory and the *tau* proceeded joyfully on its way. The following chiefs of Ngai-Te-Rangi were engaged in this expedition:—Te Kiri-tata, Hika-reia,† Tawaha, Te Rangi-hau, Te Panepane, Tahere and others.) “The voyage was so timed that they arrived at the island at daylight on the following morning, when they were informed by Te Whanau-a-Ngai-Taiwhao, from the shore, that the Nga-Puhi had gone the previous day to Motiti. The warriors, animated with hope, and thoroughly set upon revenge, or to perish in the attempt, made old ocean hiss and boil to the measured stroke of their warlike *tuki*; while the long, low, war canoes glided serpent-like over the undulations of an open swell. At mid-day, as they neared Motiti, the enemies canoes were seen ranged upon the strand at the isthmus that connects the *pa* at its south end with the the rest of the island; and now Ngai-Te-Rangi deliberately laid on their oars and took refreshments before joining issue with their antagonists. The Maunga-tapu canoes forming the right wing of the attack, were then directed to separate at the proper time, and pass round the south end of the island, to take the enemy in the rear, and prevent the escape of any by canoes, that might be on the eastern beach.

“All arrangements having been made, Ngai-Te Rangi committed themselves to the onslaught, which, as we have seen, the doomed Nga-Puhi rushed blindly forth to welcome. The latter, cut off from

*Tupaea subsequently escaped from the great slaughter at Te Tumu, 7th March, 1834, when his tribe suffered very severely at the hands of Te Arawa.

† Hikareia was killed as he fled from Te Tumu. 7th March, 1834, by Te Ipu-Tarakawa, at Wairakei, half-way between Maketu and Tauranga.

escape, surprised, scattered and outnumbered, were destroyed in detail almost without resistance." (The first man or *mata-ika* was killed by the Ngai-Te-Rangi chief Te Panepane). "Old Hara-miti, blind with age, sat in the stern of the canoe ready to receive his friends; but, hearing the noise of the conflict, he betook himself to incantations to insure the success of his people, and was thus engaged when the men of Ngai-Te-Rangi came up and with their fists beat him to death, a superstitious feeling preventing each from drawing his sacred blood. Only two Nga-Puhi survived—a youth to whom quarter was given, and a man who it is said, swam to Wai-rakei on the main; in respect of which feat we will only say that it was an uncommonly long swim."

The Nga-Puhi story says that more than one of their people escaped this massacre, and that they together with the survivors of Whare-tomokia's party were rescued at Tauranga by Titore's *ope* of the following year. Such was the end of the so-called "Girls War," at the Bay of Islands. The quarrels of a few girls bathing on the beach at Kororaeka, had thus led to the deaths of many hundreds of people, a great many of them having not the remotest connection with the quarrel, or with the people to whom the girls belonged. One of the cannon, or perhaps mortars, called by the Maoris a *pu-huri-whenua*, and named Te Hara-miti, is still in possession of the Opotiki natives.

A few additional items from the "Missionary Record," of 1881, may be of interest:—January 7th; Mr. W. Williams visited Titere (? Titore), who was a great chief (mentioned several times in this narrative) and had married Hongi-Hika's sister. In the same month there was fighting going on at Manga-kahia and the Upper Wairoa between the people of the latter place and the Ngai-Tawake of the Bay, which Messrs Baker and Shepherd tried to prevent without success. Mr. Baker says, "Amongst the Wairoa people was Moe-tarau, from Kaipara, I never saw so lion-like a man in my life, and his language agreed with his appearance." In this expedition the two missionaries ran much danger from the excited state in which the natives were. In February, it was estimated that the number of natives within five miles of the new Mission Station at Waimate was between two and three thousand. Alas! how many are there now, probably not two hundred?

On May 14th, there was a party of Whakatohea natives at the Bay, who were living under the protection of Mata-karaha. June 15th, "A small cutter has returned from Tauranga, which left the Bay a fortnight since. She took from Rangi-houa thirty natives under Whare-poaka, for the purpose of ascertaining the truth of a report that a sister of his had been killed by the people of that place. Their intention was to fight, but they were overawed by the numbers."

August 5th, Rev. H. Williams visited Oruru, near Mangonui, the first visit of a missionary. Tarepa was then one of the principal chiefs, who appeared to think "the Nga-Puhi are much changed since the missionaries have lived amongst them." December, Mr. Davis visited Maui, whose son had recently died, the boy was laid out on a bier in a shed dressed up in feathers and mats; and his father and mother and other relatives were dreadfully cut about the face and limbs, in token of grief. "A man was just preparing to kill one of the slaves as a sacrifice to the *manes* of the child."

On April 12th, 1831, the Rev. Mr. Yates describes the ceremony of consulting the oracle as follows:—"After the two men who called themselves priests were strictly *tapued*, they entered for a time to pray that they might be rightly directed in the important business before them. In about five minutes they returned, each with a cockle-shell in his hand, and with which the hair was immediately cut off the forehead—each one performing very ceremoniously the office for the other. On finishing they ate some sacred food, and with another cockle-shell tied to their garments, they went into the thickest of the fern, where, having cleared a small, circular space, they sat and prayed again. Two small sticks were then cut with the cockle-shell and nicely balanced upon another stick stuck in the ground for the purpose. The circle, from the height of the fern, was well-sheltered from the wind, and the sticks were left balanced when the priests retired. They are to return again at sunset, when, if the sticks have not fallen down, their deity has not heard their prayers and the whole ceremony has to be repeated. But if they have fallen towards the rising sun, success will attend their undertaking; if the contrary, there will be no success and probably the tribe will be cut off." This is a species of divination allied to the *niu*, but differs slightly from the latter ceremony.

The destruction of Te Hara-miti's expedition naturally caused great excitement amongst the Nga-Puhi tribes, and immediately led to steps being considered for obtaining *utu* for this serious blow to the prestige of Nga-Puhi. We gather from the "Missionary Record," a few notes of occurrences at the Bay in connection therewith: April 4th, 1831, Rev. H. Williams "saw Morunga (? Te Morenga), Kawiti and Hiki," all renowned Ngai-Puhi warriors, "preparing for an expedition to the South on the 12th. Kawiti's party moved on to Kororareka, twelve canoes manned by between 200 and 300 men." On the 18th, Moka, another great Nga-Puhi warrior, "nearly blew his hand off with a musket. This is his first meeting with this party since their fight on March 6th, 1830. The expedition was postponed till the summer. On the 18th, Te Tirarau (of Whangarei) was at Kororareka; he came to join the expedition, but returned, as Kawiti had done." On the 20th, "Visited old Wata, of Takou, from

which place came the principal people in the expedition, as it was their relatives who had been cut off. 22nd April, "Mate, of Mangakahia, Te Tirarau's late opponent, also came to Kororareka to join the Southern expedition. The Takou people also had just arrived, they were the most aggrieved of any of the people, as it was their relatives principally who fell at Motiti. Titore, Tareha and Rewa were also there. They advised the Takou people to wait until summer, when all Nga-Puhi would go with them. Titore said he could not attend to Christianity till he returned from the proposed expedition to Tauranga."

PUKE-RANGI'S *Taua* TO WAIKATO, 1832.

We must leave the proposed Tauranga expedition for awhile, to relate that of Puke-rangi to Waikato, but the exact date of its leaving cannot now be ascertained, indeed, beyond the facts stated by Mr. C. Marshall,* I know nothing of it. Mr. Marshall who was then living in the Waikato, having been the first white man to settle in those parts,† gives a full account of this expedition, which is summarised here; it took place in 1832. The *tau*a appears to have been composed largely of the Southern Nga-Puhi tribes, from Whangarei, &c. The expedition was a very strong one, nearly 3,000 men under the leadership of Puke-rangi, Motu-tara and Te Tirarau of the Parawhau tribe of Whangarei; the latter had a separate account of his own to square on account of losses at Otamatea, Whangarei and other places. Nga-Puhi came by the usual route *via* Otahuhu and the Awaroa portage, whilst Waikato assembled at the heads of that river equally as strong as Nga-Puhi. After a time, having consumed all the food there, Waikato retreated up the river, where after some time Puke-rangi and his party followed them after burning the settlement of Putataka at the mouth of the river, where a few Europeans had by this time settled down. Near Whangape lake, Nga-Puhi surprised some forty Waikato people and killed them, but they proceeded no further and returned to the Heads, where they killed a *pakeha* named "Paddy."

Nga-Puhi were followed to Manukau by some of the Ngati-Amaru, one of the Waikato tribes, but they effected nothing; hearing which the Ngati-Te-Ata (of Waiuku), Ngati-Tama-oho, Ngati-Tipa and Ngati-Mahanga—all Waikato tribes—and Ngati-Whatua, with several of their sub-tribes followed after Nga-Puhi, as far as Tawa-tawhiti, near Te Kawau Island (? Whangarei), where they attacked and defeated the Northern tribe with great slaughter. In this encounter Puke-rangi,

* "Pakeha Rambles through Maori Lands," Lieut. Col. St. John, p. 19.

† Captain Kent was the first white man to settle at Kawhia, in 1831, finally removing to Mauku, and then North Shore, Auckland. He was buried at Te Toro Point, Manukau, where I saw his grave in 1863.

the Nga-Puhi leader was killed. Ngati-Whatua at this time were living at Te Horo, on the Waipa, and in this war they got a little satisfaction for their previous losses. This was the last expedition that Nga-Puhi made against these Southern people of the West Coast. They had probably had enough of it, and fire-arms were by this time common to most tribes. I think it possible that Mr. Marshall has given a wrong position for Tawa-tawhiti, unless there were two defeats of Nga-Puhi at the place of that name, near Kawau Island, and that it was to Whangarei the *taua* went.

In November, 1831, the news of the capture and killing of Tama-i-hara-nui of Akaroa, by Te Rau-paraha, reached the Bay by letters dated in March, 1831. There were said to be 1500 men armed with muskets, under Te Rau-paraha at Otaki, Kapiti, &c. Also in the same month the letters of the Maori chiefs to His Majesty William IV., asking him to protect them against "the tribe of Marion" (the French) were sent; as it was reported that the latter nation were about to take possession of New Zealand. The letters were signed by Whare-rahi, Rewa, Patu-one, Nene, Kekeao, Titore, Te Morenga, Ripi, Hara, Atua-haere, Moetara, Matangi, and Taonui. The occasion of this letter was the visit of a French man-of-war in the previous month.

It will be remembered that in March 1828, the Rev. Henry Williams had saved the life of Pango, a Rotorua chief, by taking him to Tauranga from the Bay, thus defeating the intentions of some of the Nga-Puhi chiefs, who had expressed their determination to kill Pango. On 27th April, 1831, the Rotorua chief, Whare-tutu, arrived at the Bay, sent by Pango, to ask that a missionary might be sent to his tribe at Rotorua. Mr. Williams took advantage of this, and left the Bay in the little schooner "Karere," October 18th, 1831, and together with Mr. Chapman sailed for Tauranga, where he found several Europeans settled, and from thence proceeded to Rotorua, reaching Ohine-mutu on the 28th, Mr. Williams being the first missionary to visit that place. They reached the Bay on their return on November 18th.

TITORE'S EXPEDITION TO TAURANGA, 1831-2.

Early in December, 1831, the gathering of the Nga-Puhi tribe commenced prior to proceeding south to obtain *utu* for the destruction of Hara-miti's expedition. They assembled at Kororareka, and amongst the chiefs were Titore, Rewa, Whare-nui, Te Morenga, Ururoa, Moka and Tareha. On the 25th December, about 200 people arrived at Kororareka from the north to join the expedition, Whare-poaka was with them. These were Whangaroa and Takou people, no doubt, for it was the relatives of the latter who had suffered at Motiti. At that time it was estimated that there were between 500 and 600 natives

living at Takou. Of Titore's expedition, the Rev. H. Williams gives a full account in his diary,* as he and Mr. Fairbairn accompanied the party in their schooner-rigged boat, leaving the Bay January 3rd, 1832. Their intention was to endeavour to mitigate some of the horrors of Maori warfare. This expedition numbered about 600 men, and it appears that some time in January about 200 of the *tau* separated from the rest under Rewharewha, or Ururoa of Whangaroa, Whare-rahi and Whare-poaka, and made a raid on the people of the Thames Valley, where they did great destruction amongst the Ngati-Haua, Ngati-Maru, and other tribes living there.

EXPEDITION TO MATAMATA, 1830.

After the great battle of Hao-whenua, in 1830, between the Waikato and Thames tribes, in which the latter were defeated, the Ngati-Paoa branch of the latter together with some of Ngati-Whatua left and proceeded down the river Waikato—Ngati-Whatua to join their relatives at Te Horo, Waipa River, and Ngati-Paoa to their old homes on the Waiheke channel, hauling their canoes over the portage at Otahuhu, whilst some went by way of Maramarua, at the head of which river was another portage leading over to the Gulf of Hauraki. Here Ngati-Paoa lived for some time, until the death of Taku-rua at the hands of Waikato (Ngati-Haua), when an expedition was organised by Ngati-Paoa to obtain revenge. It was just at this juncture that Rewharewha's division of Nga-Puhi, separating off from the main party, under Titore, arrived on the scene, and as these two tribes were related through intermarriage, Nga-Puhi were easily persuaded to make a raid up the Piako and Thames Valleys. The combined *tau* consisting of 260 Nga-Puhi, and many of Ngati-Paoa, first went to Tararu, Thames, where a great war dance was danced, and they were joined by other of the Thames people. Te Hira of Ngati-Maru, with 200 men and some of the Nga-Puhi, went up the Waihou river and thence to Matamata, where considerable fighting took place, ending in victory for the invaders. The Ngati-Paoa and the rest of Nga-Puhi paddled up the Piako and there took the Kawe-heitiki *pa*, from whence after a time the Nga-Puhi re-joined Titore's force at Kati-kati. The Nga-Puhi chiefs in this expedition were:—Patu-one, Te Waka, Kainga-mata, Whare-poaka, Rewharewha, Te Whare-rahi, Te Taonui and Raumati—the two latter accompanied Te Hira. The Hauraki chiefs were:—Kohi-rangatira, Taharoku, Hauauru, Haora and Tipa. The celebrated Taraia Nga-kuti was at that time with Te Rau-paraha at the taking of Kai-apohia.

* *Life of Archdeacon Williams*, Vol. I, p. 107.

But to return to the main part of the Tauranga expedition. Titore sailed leisurely down the coast, entering Katikati Heads on the 5th March, where they joined forces with those of Rewharewha, who already had been engaged with Ngai-Te-Rangi, but without any result. The expedition, consisting of eighty canoes and boats, then passed on between Mata-kana island and the main, camping at Karopua on the 7th. This was about two miles from the Ngai-Te-Rangi position at Otu-moe-tai. Several skirmishes took place on the 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th. And so it continued with many desultory skirmishes through April, and the expedition returned to the Bay sometime in July or August having accomplished very little, for the Southern natives were by this time fairly equipped with arms, and Nga-Puhi did not find their enemies so easy to conquer. "Nga-Puhi were not beaten, but wearied, humbled, and confessing to failure, the God of the missionaries, they said, had been too strong for them."

April 23rd, 1832, Rev. Mr. Davies, writing of the state of the natives (Nga-Puhi), says, "Many have died of sickness and disease, while a greater number have been cut down in the field of battle, in fact they bid fair for annihilation, for the island is at this time in a very turbulent state. The poor creatures are now pretty generally supplied with fire-arms and ammunition, and instead of going in small parties as usual, they now collect themselves together and fight army against army, and in some cases, it is feared, Europeans join them. About three weeks since, I met a respectable man at the Bay, who had made a voyage round New Zealand in his own vessel, as commander and trader; he told me he had lost by his voyage £1500. His principal object was flax, but as the natives were so universally involved in war, he could get nothing of the kind from them, and the consequence was he was then on his return to Port Jackson." "Mr. Chapman, a respectable settler, a flax agent, who was going to reside at the Thames, informed me that for these five years past, the natives of that beautiful part had not been allowed to cultivate except here and there in secluded valleys—those of Whangarei, a stronger party making a continual attack on them, and they had been so driven about that with few exceptions, they had left all their seed and food, and were therefore living almost exclusively on fern-root and fish, and live in a dreadful state of continuous alarm." As a matter of fact, the bulk of the Thames tribes—Maru-tuahu and its sub-divisions—had fled inland to Matamata, Waikato, &c., to escape these constant Nga-Puhi raids.

As showing a few of the old customs and superstitions of the Maoris in those days, the following is quoted from the "Record," describing Titore's expedition to Tauranga. "Rauroha was no doubt

glad of the release, for he had suffered whilst on board from one of their superstitions; he had cut and dressed his brother's hair prior to his coming on board, and therefore dare not go below lest he should be killed by the *atua* (god). The weather being bad, he had been obliged to squat for three night under the long boat. . . . Titore, after landing this morning with his party, invoked the god of the wind and the waves, thus:—A handful of seaweed which had been cast up by the sea, is selected from the beach, and having been dipped in the sea, is fastened to the limb of a tree as an offering to their imaginary god; an incantation is then said by the principal chief, his party being present." January 27th, "Arrived at the place where Hinaki had been driven from Tamaki (*vide ante* 1821), and we sat down for refreshment. One of our lads was requested to give the chiefs some biscuit; he replied, "Bye and bye." Our old chief Whare-nui was in the midst of a *karakia* (incantation) with a short piece of stick in his hand, one end of which was placed on a piece of beef. He continued this for seven or eight minutes, and after he had ended, Kupenga took the stick and did the same. This, we find, is to render the place free, for it had been *tapu* since the death of Hinaki." This of course was to *whakanoa*, or make common, the place where blood had been shed. The "Record" notes that about 1832 the Maoris first began to get intoxicated.

TITORE'S SECOND EXPEDITION TO TAURANGA, &c. 1832-1833.

Titore was not satisfied with his expedition to Tauranga in the beginning of 1832, so decided on another. Rev. A. N. Brown says, "November 28th, 1832, Titore, who has just returned from the south, was sitting on a bank (at Kororareka) relating his exploits. On the right were fourteen heads stuck on short poles, which the natives seemed eyeing with fiendish exultation. Tohi-tapu, who accompanied us, after addressing the god Tu in a chanting tone, threw a piece of stick he had in his hand towards other three heads, which were those of their friends, that Titore had brought back from the South. The chiefs stopped their conversation to see if the stick, round which was tied a piece of *korari* (flax), would fall with the knot upwards. It did fall upwards, which they took for a good sign, in the event of their returning to the South again to fight."

Apparently Titore's party left the Bay in the end of 1832, and returned in the first half of 1833, being accompanied by a party of Te Rarawa (the shark) tribe from Mango-nui, Kaitaia, &c., under the leadership of Te Pana-kareao,* who was the leading chief of those

* Nopera Ngakuku Panakareao, died 12th April, 1856. His residence was at Kaitaia, where his particular *hapu* of Te Rarawa lived—Te Patu, which at the time of his death numbered about 200. His father, Te Kaka, was a very *valuable and brave man*, but in the inter-tribal wars of the North, he was driven

parts in the middle of the nineteenth century. With him were also some of the Au-pouri tribe, whose home is at the North Cape, but who, at that time, were living about Kaitaia, Ranga-ounu, &c., having been driven from their homes by Hongi-Hika and his allies some years previously.

Again, the Rev. H. Williams and Rev. Mr. Chapman proceeded from the Bay to Maketu, in the Bay of Plenty, to try and put an end to the contemplated slaughter by the Nga-Puhi tribes. On their arrival at Maketu, 27th February, 1833, they found the Nga-Puhi host camped there, a skirmish having taken place the previous day, in which ten people had been killed. At this time, Maketu, which was a large and strong *pa*, was held by (Ngati-Pukeko) the Arawa tribe; whilst Te Tumu, about six miles to the east, and afterwards to become celebrated for the defeat of Ngai-Te-Rangi, of Tauranga, was held by the latter tribe under Tupaea, Kiharoa and others. The Arawa tribe was divided by tribal quarrels, so much so that some of them were actually assisting Nga-Puhi, *i.e.* the Ngati-Whakauae, whilst Ngati-Rangi-wewehi under Hikairo were assisting Ngai-Te-Rangi. It will be remembered that Pango, a Rotorua chief, had been saved from massacre at the Bay, by the Rev. H. Williams, in 1828; and since then several visits had been paid to the Bay by Rotorua chiefs, very often to beg that a missionary might be sent. So that the feeling caused by the fall of Mokoia at Rotorua in 1823, at the hands of Hongi, had become somewhat lessened, and a temporary friendship had sprung up between certain *hapus* of Te Arawa and Nga-Puhi.

A few notes from the "Record" will serve to show the state of the country as Messrs. Williams and Chapman sailed down the coast to Maketu. Leaving the Bay on the 3rd February, 1833, they called in at Whangarei on the 9th and found "no natives, all having been dispersed some time since by a party of Waikatos." This would be the expedition in retaliation for Puke-rangi's and Te Tirarau's *taua* to Waikato in 1832. On the 10th, they pulled up the Whangarei river; again no people; they saw the ruins of a *Pakeha's* house. "When

from Oruru and fled to the North Cape, taking refuge amongst the Au-pouri tribe, and with them, was obliged to flee to Manawa-tawhi, or the Three Kings Islands, where they lived for many years. It is said that when the natives on the main used to burn the fern, the ashes would be carried by the wind across the thirty miles straits that separate the Three Kings from the North Cape, and these unfortunate exiles used to sit down and cry over these ashes as messengers from their old homes. On one occasion, Te Kaka, in making his escape from his enemies became entangled in the supplejack vines, thereby endangering his life, and in commemoration of this event, named his son Pana-kareao (spurned by the supplejack). This was prior to the combination of Nga-Puhi under Hongi. In re-occupying their conquered territory afterwards, Pana-kareao was attacked by Hone Heke in 1841 and driven from Oruru with some loss finally settling at Kaitaia.

last here, there were several natives in the *pa*, and some Europeans about; but all are now gone, through war." On the 11th, they called in at Mangawhai, where they saw many footsteps of the Rarawa party which had followed after Titore. At Whakatu-whenua (Cape Rodney) they overtook the Rarawa, amongst them Rawiri (? Taiwhanga). From thence to Omaha on the 12th, the Rarawa having passed on to Hauturu (or Little Barrier Island). On the 13th, they ran into Port Charles, at Cape Colville, where the "boys" were considerably alarmed on account of "Pareke-awhiowhio, a noted character, and lord of this part and who has killed many a traveller." They reached Ahuahua Island on the 14th, and waited there for the Rarawa fleet. They saw many human bones scattered about, the result of the slaughter by Nga-Puhi in 1831. After calling at Mercury Bay and Whanga-mata, at neither of which places was a soul to be seen, they entered Tauranga on the 26th and camped under Maunga-nui, the southern headland of the harbour. On the 27th February, they reached Maketu, having seen some of Ngati-Awa (really Ngai-Te-Rangi, the Journal always refers to them by the former name) along the coast, and heard a big gun fired from Te Tumu *pa* "which did not appear strong." March 1st, Titore came to see Mr. Williams, and he gathered that Nga-Puhi would be glad to return. The news came in of several persons having been killed to the southwards by a distant people.

March 2nd.—Forty men of Nga-Puhi went from Maketu towards Te Tumu, held by Ngai-Te-Rangi under Tupaea in consequence of those killed a few days ago—it was without result. Korokai, of Ngati-Whakaue, Rotorua was at Maketu at this time. March 3rd. News by a native from Rotorua that Te Rau-paraha had crossed over to the South Island, carrying destruction everywhere. (This, I think, was the raid on Cloudy Bay). March 5th. "Tacapo" (*sic*) Nga-Puhi's vessel sailed to look for the Rarawa contingent. On the 6th, Pango,* alluded to a few pages back, came from Rotorua to visit Mr. Williams. On the 7th some 400 men from Nga-Puhi started out to lay an ambush along the road to Rotorua to try and catch some Ngati-Awa reinforcements coming to the assistance of Te Tumu *pa*, and there was a skirmish on the river on the 8th. "I heard that when Whare-papa, a Nga-Puhi chief, was killed in a late engagement here, Titore's wife took a rope and gave it to his widow and told her to hang herself, which she did, retiring unattended to the *wahi-tapu* (sacred place, where incantations, &c., are offered) among some bushes.

* Pango, was said to have been one of the most learned of the Arawa tribe, and well versed in their history. The Polynesian Society possesses some documents written by his son—matter which was taught by old Pango.

These circumstances were not uncommon a few years since. It was the practice formerly to kill some slaves on the death of a chief, but this has gradually ceased at the Bay and Hokianga." On the 11th March, a skirmish took place with the people of Te Tumu, and a son of Amohau* of Rotorua was killed. "Immediately all was confusion and noise, firing of guns, wailing and howling in a horrid manner. This last part belonged exclusively to the women, who arranged themselves before the corpse, throwing their bodies into every attitude and filling the air with lamentation, cutting themselves until the blood gushed out, and besmearing their faces and bodies. The frantic widow sat in grief upon the body of her husband—a most dreadful spectacle—tossing her head and arms about like one deranged." March 14th, "Much commotion consequent on firing heard beyond Te Tumu, supposed to be the arrival of allies. The whole *pa* except women and children, armed and rushed off to the fight. On the opposite side of the river (Kai-tuna) the natives assembled around their priests who stood in the water while they went through their religious ceremony, sprinkling the warriors occasionally with water, at the conclusion of which they caught up a handful of sand, and throwing it in the river, went off at speed towards the enemy." This was the *tohi-taua*, or baptism of war, ceremony. After two hours this party returned having two of their number wounded, but none killed. "The firing still continued, and at 2.30 o'clock another party that had been against Te Tumu came in, wild and naked, saying that Tupaea and twenty others of Ngai-Te-Rangi had been killed—which proved to be false. Near sunset we witnessed a religious ceremony, upon the return of a party that had been out some days to waylay the enemy near one of their *pas*. The party assembled naked, every person with a bunch of green grass in his hand. The priest, an old grey-bearded man and apparently built of such slight material that a puff of wind would blow him away, stood up with outspread arms, hold three blades of long grass in each hand, and repeating over them his *karakias*, or prayers to Tu, the god of war. At the conclusion of the old man's service, the party delivered one bunch of the grass to him, they then all stood up and chanted a few words, clapping their hands at the same time; after which they ran down to the river, and wetting the second bunch

* Amohau, was one of the principal chiefs of Ngati-Whakaue of Rotorua. He was a fine old fellow, very thickly tattooed. In 1880, when I was at Rotorua selecting the site and scheming out the plan of the town of Rotorua, he accompanied Chief Judge Fenton and myself all over the place, and was very much interested in the project. He died at Rotorua, 8th September, 1889, aged about 85.

of grass returned and gave it to the priest. I could not understand a word, nor would any one explain it." This was apparently the bringing home of the *mauhe* or "spirit" of the battle-field.

March 15th.—Amohau, the father of the man shot a few days ago (referred to on a previous page) after the usual *tangi* over his son, said that he did not wish to obtain any revenge for the death, but was willing to make peace, with the help of the Missionaries. He wished Mr. Williams to send a messenger to the *pa* at Te Tumu to make peace, and then go on to Tauranga to meet Titore and the Rarawa people. Messengers were accordingly sent on the 16th and were well received by Tupaea at Te Tumu. On the 19th news was received that the Rarawa were at Katikati and had made an attack on the people there. Kiharoa, a chief of Ngai-Te-Rangi came out of Te Tumu *pa* to meet Mr. Williams, who went on to Tauranga where, on the 21st he found the Rarawa, with Titore, Papahia (of lower Hokianga) and others, together with Te Rohu, a Ngati-Maru chief of the Thames, who had joined the Rarawa with 70 men. A long discussion as to peace ensued, ending in Titore and Papahia telling Mr. Williams to go to Otu-moe-tai, the *pa* of Ngai-Te-Rangi (just across the water from the present town of Tauranga) and discuss the question with them. Peace would probably have been brought about but for an attack made by Nga-Puhi and Rarawa on Otu-moe-tai on the 22nd and again on the 25th, when two men and a woman of the *pa* were killed, and three of the Rarawa.

Disgusted at the bad faith of Nga-Puhi, Mr. Williams now left for home, and whilst at one of the islands off Coromandel on the 31st March, saw a few natives from whom he learnt that a Nga-Puhi *taua* under Marupo was at Aotea, or the Great Barrier. The "Record," notes the fact that the whole coast from Tauranga to the Bay was desolate and without inhabitants. On April 2nd, Mr. Williams called in at Mahurangi where he found Messrs. Fairburn and Shepherd, as also Te Rau-roha and Kupenga of Ngati-Paoa, and Patu-one of Nga-Puhi. (Probably this was not Patu-one of Nga-Puhi). Peace appears to have been made in May or June between Nga-Puhi and Ngai-Te-Rangi at Maketu. But before that, according to the Ure-wera accounts Pana-kareao, with the Rarawa and Aupouri people had extended their expedition to Whakatane, where Ngati-Awa repulsed them, killing three of their chiefs. In this war, as we have seen, some of Te Arawa tribes joined Nga-Puhi; others assisted Ngai-Te-Rangi. And hence, says my informant, Te Arawa were able to visit the Bay and obtained many arms there.

On July 14, 1838, the old and turbulent Nga-Puhi chief Tohitapu, died at the Bay of Islands, and on the 5th of May Mr. Busby, the first British Resident, arrived in "H.M.S. Imogene."

Titore, who had played such an important part in the late Southern expedition, was himself shot during a local fight between his party and that of Pomare (the younger) early in 1838. Titore Takiri left no issue. His expeditions were the last on a large scale to sail from the north, excepting one in 1838, of which there is no Maori account extant that I am aware of, though the Rev. Dr. Lang, who visited New Zealand in 1839, gives the following account of it, but he mentions no names of those engaged in it.

EXPEDITION TO GREAT BARRIER ISLAND, 1838.

He says, "Towards the close of the year 1838, about one hundred fighting men of one of the tribes in the neighbourhood of the Bay of Islands, went on a predatory excursion to the Barrier Island, at the mouth of the river Thames, about 120 miles to the southward, on the East Coast. Barrier Island is about 40 miles long, very fertile, but thinly inhabited. The interlopers from the Bay of Islands having therefore billeted themselves on the peaceful and unoffending natives of that island, the latter sent private information of the circumstance to the chiefs on the banks of the River Thames, on the mainland, with whom they were on terms of friendship, and who accordingly assembled in great force to give battle to the invaders. The latter, it seems, though fewer in numbers, were better acquainted with fire-arms than their countrymen to the southward, and there were accordingly upwards of twenty chiefs of the Thames River shot in the fight that ensued, besides many natives of inferior standing. The fight had evidently been very sanguinary, for the Bay of Island natives who had in the meantime nearly exterminated the natives of the Barrier Island, were themselves reduced to thirty men, and were glad to embrace the opportunity of a small coasting vessel, bound to the Bay of Islands with pork and potatoes, to return to that neighbourhood. The little vessel arrived in the Bay on the 2nd February last (1839), having landed the thirty natives on the coast, to walk overland to the Bay. . . . Pomare then laid claim to the island and was offering to sell it, the natives who had been concerned in the affair being of his tribe and district."

VISIT TO TE REINGA, 1834.

In December, 1834, Mr. W. G. Puckey visited Te Reinga, near the North Cape, the place where the departed spirits descend to the nether world, and as his account is interesting in touching on some of the old customs, the following is extracted from his notes published in the "Church Missionary Record" for 1835. "I set out on the 4th December to visit a remnant of the vanquished tribe, the Au-pouri, taking with me six of my natives and Paerata, an old chief and guide.

This once bloodthirsty warrior and superstitious heathen, who was partly the means of annihilating this once powerful tribe, is, we hope, through the grace of God, become as gentle as a lamb." The party proceeded from Kaitaia to the West Coast, and thence proceeded along the magnificent beach that extends northwards to Cape Maria Van Dieman.* "We brought up at night at Hukatere, an old fortified place where Paerata once fought and was wounded. . . . At 5 o'clock next morning we started on our way across the island for Houhora on Mount Camel, as we intended to pass the sabbath there." . . . And they experienced much fatigue in crossing the six miles of sand which there covers the island from coast to coast. "At this place we were cordially received by Whiti, an old and venerable chief, one of the principal heads of Te Rarawa tribe. This old man on learning where we were going, said, 'Of what use is your going there; for the people are very few and they have nothing for you to eat.'"

On the 6th December, Whiti on learning that we intended to explore Te Reinga, communicated the news to a chief of another village, who immediately came and said to Paerata: 'I am come to send you and your white companion back; for if you cut away the *aka*, or roots of Te Reinga, the whole island will be destroyed, but your white friend will not. Do not suffer your friend to cut away the ladder by which the souls of our forefathers were conveyed to the other world.' The whole body of New Zealanders, although composed of numerous tribes who for the greater part are living in malice, hateful and hating one another, yet firmly believe in the Reinga—which is at the North Cape—as the one only place for their departed spirits. It is their belief, that as soon as the soul leaves the body, it makes its way with all speed to the western coast. If it be the spirit of one who resided in the interior, it takes with it a small bundle of the branches of the palm tree (? *nikau*) as a token of a place whence it came; if one who lived on the coast, the spirit takes with it a kind of grass that grows by the seaside (? *pingao*) which it leaves at different resting places on its road to the Reinga." On the 7th December, they returned to the West Coast, and in travelling along the beach saw many fragments of wrecked vessels and whale bones, and at night reached Wai-mahuru, a small stream where there were a few houses that are considered sacred. On the 8th—"At break of day we proceeded on our way about three miles, when we came to one of the

* There is an amusing story told of the Rev. Mr. Puckey and this beach. Having frequently to travel along the hard, sandy beach, he conceived the idea of making a small four-wheeled car, to which he added a mast and sail. It answered admirably, until one day, the steering apparatus went wrong during a high wind, and the car "took charge" and carried the reverend gentleman into the breakers where, but for the help of his natives, he would have been drowned.

resting places of the spirits, where we were told we should know if any native had lately died, as there would be a green *whakaau*, or token of his spirit having rested there on its way to the Reinga, but we found none. . . . About three o'clock we arrived at the end of the beach at Kahu-kawa, where resided all the natives of the North Cape, not exceeding twenty-five in number."

December 9th—We proceeded to explore the Reinga. After proceeding about half-an-hour we came to another and the last resting-place of the spirits, which is on a hill called Haumu, from whence they can look back on the country where their friends are still living, and the thought of them causes the spirits to cry and cut themselves. Here we saw many dry *whakaau* which, as our guide said, were the tokens of the spirits who had rested there. I asked him if it were not possible for strangers who passed this way to do as my natives were then doing, namely, twisting green branches and depositing them there as a sign that they had stopped at that notable place—a general custom with the natives whenever they pass any remarkable place. After this we went on over sandhills and sandy beaches till we came to a fresh water river. Here we took breakfast, after which we ascended a very high hill composed of craggy rocks on which were growing patches of slippery grass, over which it was very difficult to walk, and the precipice over which the road lay, hanging over the sea, made travelling very dangerous. When we reached the summit, we descended to the water's edge. Here there is a hole through the rock into which the spirits are said to descend by the *aka*, which is a branch of a tree (a *pohutukawa* tree according to the Maoris) growing out of the rock, inclining downwards, with part of it broken off by the violence of the wind, but said to have been broken off by a number of spirits which went down by the *aka* to the Reinga, some years ago, when a great number were killed in a fight. After a while, our new guide took us about one hundred farther along, where he directed our attention to a large lump of seaweed washed to and fro by the waves of the sea, which he said was the door that closed in the spirits of the Reinga. This latter place is called Motatau,* where, our guide remarked, they caught fish, which are always quite red from the *kokowai*, or red ochre, that the natives bedaub their bodies and mats with—the natives believe that the painted garments go with departed spirits.

The scenery round the place where I stood was most uninviting, not only so, but calculated to inspire the soul with horror. The place has a most barren appearance, while the screaming of the numerous

* Motatau, or Motau, is frequently mentioned in Maori laments—" *i te rimu e mawe ra ki Motau*." "Where the seaweed swirls at Motau"; and is emblematical for death.

sea-fowl and the sea roaring in the pride of might, dashing against the dismal black rocks, would suggest to the reflecting mind that it must have been the dreary aspect of the place that led the New Zealanders to choose such a situation as this for their Hell. We now returned to Kahu-kawa, and reached home on the 12th.

During the time I was absent, great rumours spread among the tribes that I had gone to cut away the *aka* (or root) of Te Reinga. Many angry speeches were made, and some said they would go and waylay us as we were returning. It, in fact, roused all the old affections of those who had any, for their old Dagon, while numbers who were beginning to be a little enlightend would say, "And what of it, if the ladder be cut away? it is a thing of lies; no spirits ever went there." On being asked, "What, are you afraid of having no place of torment to go to?" Some of the old men touchingly replied, "It is very well for you to go to the *Rangi* (heaven), but leave us our old Reinga, and let us have something to hold on by as we descend, or we shall break our necks over the precipice." Many, however, threatened to fight with Paerata, as they laid the blame on him. About forty men came to inquire into the truth, as well as Kuku, a notable chief." After much talk, however, Paerata was able to convince them that their old road to spirit land was still intact.

Forty years ago I had a native of the Au-pouri tribe of the North Cape in my employ for several years. He has often described the Reinga to me, and stated that in travelling southward along the long beach mentioned by Mr. Puckey, he has seen at a distance companies of spirits approaching him on their way northwards to Te Reinga. But they always disappeared before they drew near; and if he looked back after a time, the same party would be seen hastening along to their destination. He told me that in the north the doors of the *kumara* stores were always turned to the north, for fear the spirits travelling from the south should enter and thereby *tapu* the *kumaras*, and therefore unfit for food. By this we may suppose the spirits could not turn back after once starting.

Mr. Puckey's idea as to Te Reinga having been chosen as the entrance to Hades from its weird and uninviting appearance, is not correct. It was the nearest part of New Zealand to the Ancient Fatherland of Hawaiki whence the race originated, and to which all spirits were supposed to return after life. There are Reingas in most of the islands—if not all—occupied by the Polynesians, and they are generally to be found at the western end of the islands—in other words towards the direction of Hawaiki, the Fatherland. The spirits were always supposed to travel along the mountains from where ever the body died, to the western end of the islands, and there "jumped off," hence *Reinga-wairua*, the Spirits' Leap, the name applied to most of these points of departure.

The following from the "Church Missionary Record" for 1885 illustrates the manners of the early years of the nineteenth century. It is supplied by the Rev. Mr. Davis of the Bay, a very competent Maori scholar. "June 30th, 1884, several natives here for instruction. This evening one of the young men from Kai-kohe, who has lived with me from the first, gave the following interesting account of himself:—. . . While I was yet in my mother's womb, my father devoted me to the Powers of Darkness. As soon after my birth as I was able to struggle for my mother's breast, I was kept therefrom and teased by my father in order that angry passions might be deeply rooted in me; the stronger I grew the more was I teased by my father and the harder was I obliged to fight for the nourishment of my mother's breast. This was done in order that my angry passions might be fostered in their growth, and ultimately become matured in desperate wickedness. All this was done (to use his own words) before I had seen the plants which are produced by the earth."

"As soon as I saw the world and was able to run about, the work of preparation went on more rapidly; and my father kept me without food in order that I might learn the art of stealing, and so at length become an adept, not forgetting at the same time to stir up the spirit of revenge and anger . . . My father also taught me the Black Art (*i.e.* witchcraft in which his father was a great priest and an adept) so that I might be able to bewitch or destroy people at pleasure."

"My father told me that in order to be a great man, I must be a murdering warrior, a desperate and expert thief, and be able to do all kinds of wickedness effectually."

"I recollect that when a child, my father went to kill (hunt) pigs. After they were dead I tried to get a leg or a limb; but my father beat me away, and did not allow me to eat any part thereof because I had not shown myself desperate in endeavouring to catch and kill the pigs."

"When the tribe went to war, and I was able to join them, I endeavoured in all things to fulfil my father's wishes, by committing acts of wickedness, and considered that I was quite right in so doing. When I became a man and capable of committing acts of violence, catching slaves for myself, &c., my father was pleased and said, now I will feed you, because you deserve it; now you shall not want for good things."

This young man subsequently came under the teaching of the Missionaries, and abandoned his old life, which caused a separation between him and the old father who removed from Kai-kohe to be away from Missionary influence.

The "Missionary Record" for the years following 1838 are full of interesting matter relating to the Maoris, and more especially with respect to the Thames and Waikato people, who came under the Missionary teachings by the founding of new stations at Puriri on the Thames River in 1834, and at Manga-pouri between the Waikato and Waipa rivers, also in the same year, but they no longer deal with the subject of this paper, but rather with the state of the Maoris of the north central districts of the Colony; and a melancholy tale of war, treachery, murder and barbarism it is, illustrating what was said in the beginning of this narrative, that in the early years of the nineteenth century the whole of the North Island was one vast camp of armed men seeking each others destruction.

In January, 1836, Rev. H. Williams, Messrs. Fairburn and Hamlin, succeeded in bringing about a peace between Waikato and Nga-Puhi, at Otahuhu, near Auckland, and since that time these two great tribes have not been at enmity; but war still flourished amongst most of the other tribes, only one of which, however, did Nga-Puhi take part in, and that was:

TOKO-A-KUKU, 1836.

It will be remembered that Te Wera Hauraki had settled down with some of the Ngati-Kahungunu tribe at Te Mahia Peninsula, Hawke Bay, and had married women from that tribe. Here he lived from 1824 to the time of his death, about 1841-8, much respected by the numerous tribes of his neighbourhood for his bravery and justice. His contingent of Nga-Puhi armed with muskets was looked on as a tower of strength by the surrounding people. Even refugees from Taranaki driven by the repeated invasions of the Waikatos to the south of the island, settled for years under Te Wera's protection, as did a very large number of the Wairarapa natives. But in those troublous times anything but peace was the rule. At a date which I have found it quite impossible to fix, but which lies somewhere between 1825 and 1830, Te Wera rendered effectual assistance to his neighbour at Poverty Bay, Te Kani-a-takirau, by attacking and taking the Ngati-Porou stronghold of Tuatini, which led to further enmity between the latter tribe and Nga-Puhi. But this enmity came to an end in 1836, when we find the two tribes making common cause against the Whanau-a-Apanui tribe of the Bay of Plenty, brought about by a common suffering.

It will be remembered that in 1823, on the southern expedition of Te Wera and Pomare, that they attacked the Whanau-a-Apanui tribe at Te Kaha, at whose hands Nga-Puhi suffered a repulse, resulting in the death of Te Wera's nephew Marino. Te Wera never forgot or forgave this, but awaited a suitable opportunity to avenge

his nephew's death. In the end of 1829 or beginning of 1830, occurred the fall of Omaru-iti *pa* at Whare-kahika, or Hicks Bay, which was taken by the Whanau-a-Apanui and Whanau-a-Ehutu tribes, who killed a good many of the Ngati-Porou as payment for Ngarara (who took the brig "Hawes" in 1829). Amongst the slain was Tu-tohi-a-rangi, son of Uenuku, principal chief of the Ngati-Porou of Hicks Bay. Here then was a common cause for Nga-Puhi under Te Wera and Ngati-Porou to sink their differences and make a joint expedition against the Whanau-a-Apanui.

On the 19th December, 1833, the Rev. W. Williams* left the Bay in the schooner "Fortitude" for the purpose of conveying stores for the new station at Puriri, and also with the object of returning to the East Cape some Ngati-Porou who had been at the Bay for some time; amongst them was a chief, Rukuata, and Tohi-a-kura, who had learnt a great deal of the new religion whilst at the Bay, and now came back to his people and much assisted in introducing Christianity. They arrived at Hicks Bay on the 8th January, 1834, and were soon in communication with the natives, who were then preparing for war with the people of the Bay of Plenty, no doubt in retaliation for Omaru-iti. Mr. Williams mentions† that at Rangitukia, the outer *pa* of Waiapu, whither he went on the 9th, the natives said the *pa* mustered 560 fighting men. On the 10th he visited Whaka-whiti-te-ra, another large *pa* containing, it was said, 2,000 fighting men. These figures show the numbers of people inhabiting those parts at that time, though only two *pas* are named. After a visit to Te Wera at Te Mahia, the party returned to the Bay, having paved the way for a Missionary, and the Rev. W. Williams himself occupied the ground by removing to Poverty Bay in January, 1840.

In consequence of events just referred to, it was decided by Ngati-Porou and Te Wera to organise an expedition to attack Te Whanau-a-Apanui and other Bay of Plenty tribes at their stronghold at Te Kaha point. Messengers were sent down the East Coast, and in March, 1836, the forces assembled at Hicks Bay. Ropata Wahawaha says: "All the tribes of the East Coast were called on. They came from Waiapu, from Turanga, from Nuku-aurua, from Wairoa, from Ahuriri, from Wai-rarapa—even from the South Island. They assembled at Whakawhiti-te-ra, Waiapu, and then proceeded to Toka-a-kuku, at Te Kaha." The Ngati-Porou leader appears to have been Taumata-a-kura, mentioned above; he had only agreed to join the

* Afterwards Bishop of Waiapu.

† "Christianity among the New Zealanders." Page 176.

force on condition that no cannibalism should take place. Mr. Williams says he went into battle Bible in one hand, his musket in the other, and that the few casualties on Ngati-Porou side were believed by them to be due to Taumata's god. The force proceeded to build *pas* to invest Toka-a-kuku, and in the meantime messengers were sent off by the besieged to gather the coastal tribes of the Bay of Plenty to their assistance, contingents coming even from Whakatane, numbering, it is said, 1,800 men, of whom 200 came by water and succeeded in getting into the besieged *pa*. The rest marched overland, and as soon as they were observed approaching, a sortie was made from the *pa* to distract the attention of the besiegers. This brought on a general engagement at Pu-remu-tahi, not far from the *pa*, where a great fight took place, the Nga-Puhi guns being used with great effect. A complete rout of the Bay of Plenty forces followed, the pursuit extending as far as Te Awa-nui, some fifteen or sixteen miles distant. In the meantime the sortie from the *pa* had also failed. Ropata Wahawaha says the siege lasted for six months, but the *pa* was not taken in the end, though the Bay of Plenty people suffered very severely—there are said to have been 140 killed in the first battle, amongst whom were the chiefs Rangi-patu-riri, Te Kaka-pai-waho, Te Hau-to-rua, and Tu-te-rangi-noti. Provisions running short, this great *taua* eventually abandoned the siege, having obtained sufficient *utu* for their slain relatives, and returned to their homes. No man was eaten during this war, but the prisoners were hanged on *whatas* in sight of the besieged. Soon after the return of the *taua* proposals of peace were received from Te Whanau-a-Apanui by the Ngati-Porou, and this was finally cemented in 1887.

This was one of the last great East Coast fights of the century, for Christianity was fast spreading, and the various tribes were getting exhausted by wars. Although the causes mentioned were those which immediately led up to Toka-a-kuku, the Whanau-a-Apanui and Ngati-Porou had been at enmity for generations past. I heard whilst at Te Kaha in 1900 that Ngati-Porou often came over the exceedingly mountainous country lying between Te Kaha and Waiapu by two well known war-trails, and raided the shores of the Bay of Plenty. These latter people sometimes met and fought them in the mountains. Some years prior to Toka-a-kuku, Te Pori-o-te-rangi, grandfather of Te Hou-ka-mou, the present chief residing at Hicks Bay, raided along the coast to near Te Kaha, where a battle was fought in which Te Pori fell. He was recognised by his assailant, who desired to spare his life, but others coming up killed him. This was a great blow to Ngati-Porou, and it was partly to avenge this that Ngati-Porou assembled their allies to attack Toka-a-kuku. The reason why this

pa did not fall was due to the fact that it was so large that the people had cultivations inside, and plenty of *kumaras* stored, for Te Kaha is celebrated for the growth of that tuber. Moreover, as provisions became scarce, they managed to send away canoes by night, which pulled straight out to sea until daylight, then steering for the south, and landing at Taumata-apanui and other places where there was plenty of provisions. The people of Te Kaha look on the abandonment of the siege as a victory for them.

At the same time that this siege was in progress, the celebrated fall of Te Tumu *pa*, near Maketu took place—this was on the 9th May, 1836.

THE COMING OF THE WHITE MAN.

Beyond the incidents that have been described in the preceding pages, no further collisions between the northern tribes of Nga-Puhi and those of the south took place. The teaching of the Missionaries, now established in a great many places, and the advent of a considerable number of white traders, all tended towards a cessation of the desolating wars that ever since the introduction of muskets had prevailed in all parts of the country. The fact that most tribes were, by the end of the fourth decade of the nineteenth century provided with muskets, tended also to put an end to the wholesale butchery that formerly took place; the Missionaries, who had the best means of forming an estimate, culculated that between the years 1800 and 1840, over 80,000 people had been killed or died through causes incidental to the wars.

This long story commenced with a history of the Ngati-Whatua tribe,* and it will end with another episode in the history of that tribe as told to me by Te Reweti one of their chiefs in 1860.

Ngati-Whatua procured their first musket under the following circumstances:—There is a *pa* named Tau-hinu, situated immediately at the junction of the Paremoremo creek with the Wai-te-mata harbour. During one of the earlier incursions of Nga-Puhi—but which I cannot now trace—this *pa* was attacked by Hongi Hika, and he so far succeeded that he drove Ngati-Whatua out and down to the tongue of land at the edge of the Wai-te-mata, where, however, they rallied and succeeded in repulsing the Nga-Puhi, driving them in turn away from the *pa* and capturing one of their muskets. As Ngati-Whatua say, the gun was no use to them for they did not know how to use it, nor had they any ammunition. Totara-i-ahua was the chief of Tau-hinu *pa*, a man who distinguished himself in the Patu-one—Tu-whare expedition to the South in 1819-1820. About 1821, he visited Coromandel, where he obtained another musket from some

* "The Peopling of the North," Journal Polynesian Society, 1898.

vessel, and learnt how to use it. He gave it the name of *Hu-teretere*. The next guns they obtained were at *Tai-a-mai*, Bay of Islands, to which place *Ngati-Whatua* made a foray, which occurred—so far as I can trace—in 1820, and the object of this expedition was to retaliate on *Nga-Puhi* for an attack they had made on the *Te Roroa* people of *Kaihu*. *Ngati-Whatua* say they took two *pua* on this occasion. I think this is in all probability the defeat suffered by *Nga-Puhi* referred to by *Marsden* as occurring in 1820.

The first Governor of New Zealand, Captain *Hobson*, R.N., landed at the Bay of Islands, 29th January, 1840, the British Sovereignty over the islands being proclaimed on May 21st, 1840. The following is my old friend *Te Reweti's* description of the circumstances leading up to the foundation of *Auckland*:—

Towards the early part of 1840, *Ngati-Whatua* and the *Taou* had returned to their *kaingas* on the *Wai-te-mata* from *Waikato*: *Ngati-Rongo* had returned from *Whangarei* and other places to their homes at *Mahu-rangi*, and the *Uri-o-Hau* were beginning to occupy their old homes at *Otamatea* and the adjacent rivers. They were still in fear of their neighbours at the north and others to the south, as the country they occupied on the *Auckland* isthmus, was the highway of all war parties, whether coming from either direction. In this state of unrest, a meeting was called of the *morehu* or remnants of the tribes at *Okahu*, near the future city of *Auckland*, to determine on what course they should pursue to ensure their safety. During this *runanga*, or council, *Titai*, a *matakite*, or seer, was one night under the influence of his god, when the following was sung to him in his trance, which he duly repeated to the meeting in the morning, as the advice of the god to the people:—

He aha te hau e wawara mai ?
 He tiu, he raki,
 Nana i a mai te pupu tarakihi ki uta
 E tikina atu e au te kotiu,
 Koia te pou whakairo
 Ka tu ki *Wai-te-mata*
 I aku wai rangi e.

What is the wind that softly blows ?
 'Tis the breeze of the north-west, the north,
 That drives on our shore the nautilus.
 If I bring from the north
 The handsome carved post,
 And place it here in *Wai-te-mata*,
 My trance will then be fulfilled.*

* After northerly and easterly gales, the *Paper Nautilus* is occasionally cast on the shores of New Zealand. *Tiu* and *Kotiu* are properly the north-west winds, and when *Titai* proposes to being from the "north-west" he correctly gives the direction of the Bay of Islands from *Wai-te-mata*.

The meaning was at once divined by the people. The *Nautilus* is the ship of the white man; the carved post, the flag of England, and it was at once seen that if they could induce Governor Hobson—who had lately arrived at the Bay of Islands—to come to Wai-te-mata and settle there, they would be allowed to occupy their country in peace. They sent off messengers to Kaipara, where Captain Symonds then was, and invited him to Wai-te-mata, whence, after staying some time, an embassy accompanied him to the Bay of Islands, going by way of Kaipara and Manga-kahia. They found the Governor living on board a *man-a-war*, and after a fortnight stay, he brought the ambassadors back in his ship, and anchored off Wai-ariki (Official Bay, Auckland). There they found Apihai Te Kawau and the Taou people, who welcomed the Governor. After a time he landed and pitched his camp where Fort Britomart formerly stood, the tents covering the whole of the point. At that time, Horotiu (Commercial Bay), Wai-ariki (Official Bay), Wai-papa (Mechanics Bay), Mata-harehare (St. George's Bay), and Taurarua (Judge's Bay), were all covered by *kumara* and potato cultivations, the whole of the product of which was presented to the Governor and the settlers.

Such then is the account of some of the incidents in the history of the Ngati-Whatua tribe, of Kaipara and Auckland, with which this narrative commenced, as related to me by the people forty odd years ago, and noted at the time. Writing it out in a comprehensive form, has brought back to my recollection many scenes and incidents in Maori every-day life which can no longer be studied. At that time this people of Kaipara had practically no European neighbours, and many of their old customs were still in full force, softened, however, by the influence of the Missionaries. The only white men living in the whole of Kaipara in 1859, were Mr. George Rix, at the mouth of the Kau-kapakapa, Mr. C. E. Nelson at Mataia, the Rev. W. Gittos at Oruawharo, Captain Stannaway at Tokatoka, and Mr. Marinner, in charge of Brown and Campbell's establishment at Mangawhare, on the Wairoa, with some few Europeans engaged under him in the kauri spar trade, and an occasional visitor in the person of my respected friend and fellow official John Rogan, the District Land Purchase Commissioner. It would be difficult to find anywhere a finer people than the Ngati-Whatua were at that time; they retained all the best points of the Maori character, whilst the worst had been eradicated by the efforts of their Missionaries, the Revs. Messrs. Buller and Gittos. They were strictly honest and honourable in all their dealings, hospitable to a fault, and appeared to me to follow the teachings of the Missionaries in a true spirit of Christianity.

APPENDIX.

The publication of the foregoing narrative has brought from several friends, a few corrections and some further material, which appears below :—

(Page 165.) J.P.S. Vol. X., page 98.* Mr. C. F. Maxwell sends me the following note as to the expression used by Hongi's wife : "*E Hongi E! Ka kore te puru o Taumarere.*" The fight at Te Ika-aranga-nui was not in Hongi's name, though he generally got the credit of it. Nga-Puhi had decided that in this instance Te-Whare-umu (of Ngati-Manu, who resided at Taumarere, Kawakawa, Bay of Islands, and was afterwards slain at Waima) should declare war—*Ki-whaingā*—and have the honour of leading the first attack. It was arranged between the leaders that Ngati-Manu should give way before Ngati-Whatua and draw them into the open, when Hongi with the main body of Nga-Puhi would fall on their rear and thus take them between two fires. Turi-ka-tuki, Hongi's wife, with other women watched the battle from a ridge near by, and when she saw Te Whare-umu hard pressed and Ngati-Whatua gaining ground, she called out that Taumarere was defeated, using a metaphorical phrase well known to Nga-Puhi. It is possible that she was unaware of the strategy of the Nga-Puhi chiefs. Hongi immediately attacked, and Te Whare-umu perceiving this rallied his men, and the main conflict came on. (Obtained from one of Te Whare-umu's descendants).

(Page 106.) J.P.S. Vol. IX., page 98.* Mr. Maxwell being at Kawhia, 1901, learnt that Te Wherowhero, the great chief of Waikato was one of the few who escaped from Matakītaki in 1822, and that he received his name from an incident that occurred at the siege of that famous *pa*. Nga-Puhi who were encamped on the flat below the *pa* had spread out a large red cloth or blanket, which attracted great attention from Waikato, for they had never seen anything like it before, they consequently bestowed the name Te Wherowhero (scarlet) on this young chief, who afterwards became somewhat famous as Potatau, first King (so called) of Waikato.

(Page 187.) J.P.S., Vol. X., page 83.* The Kawhia people say that it was Hongi's wife Turi-ka-tuki that made peace between Waikato and Nga-Puhi after Matakītaki; and that when Pomare announced his intention of again making war on Waikato, Nga-Puhi all said, "*E' hoa, Kauaka e haere; he maunga-rongo na te wahine. Ki te haere koe, riro tonu atu.*" "Friend! do not go; it was a peace made by a women. If you go, you will never come back."

* The numbers in brackets refer to pages of this narrative in book form; the others to volume and pages of the Journal.

Consequently when Pomare persisted in going and was killed, Nga-Puhi made no effort to avenge his death"—a peace made by a high class chieftainness being very binding.

(Page 106.) J.P.S., Vol. IX., page 98, note 6. Here I have inadvertently given the name of the Poor Knight's Islands as Tawa-tawhiti, whereas the name of those islands are Tawhiti-nui. The reference in the song is to Tawa-tawhiti at Whangarei. Captain Gilbert Mair informs me that there is a Tawa-tawhiti near Whangarei and that it was formerly a place of importance, occupied by the Para-whau tribe, "here it was they were attacked by Ngati-Paoa, and Te Hauauru wife of Kukupa (father of Te Tirarau) taken prisoner, and her three sisters slain. Kukupa subsequently ransomed his wife from Ngati-Paoa by presenting them with a musket. Kukupa, in bidding farewell to Ngati-Paoa, said, "*Haere! Haere ra. E mara ma! i te ra roa. Tera te waru te tuara roa o Hongi Hika..*" "Go! return while the sun shines—while it is yet summer, and there is time—the winter approaches, borne on the long reaching back of Hongi Hika." A plain indication of what the invaders might expect. The reference in the song is to this incident.

(Page 111.) J.P.S., Vol. IX., page 103. Captain Mair supplies me with the following interesting incident connected with Hongi's visit to Rotorua, 1823, when Nga-Puhi took Mokoia Island. "When Nga-Puhi entered the Waihi estuary, they paddled up the Ponga-kawa river to Pari-whaiti, that magnificent outburst of subterranean waters flowing out of Lake Rotoiti, and the head of navigation. Here the *ope* divided, Te Wera, with one part of the force going along the west side of Mata-whaura, the fine wooded hill just to the north of the east end of Rotoiti, and striking the lake at Otai-roa, a bay on the north coast of the lake, while Hongi Hika with the larger part of the force dragged their canoes overland to Roto-ehu lake. A warrior chief of Ngati-Pikiao named Te Ra-ka-taha living at Tapuae-haruru, the native village at the east end of the lake, hearing the sound of Te Wera's guns as he attacked Otai-roa, went in a canoe towards that place to fetch away the chief Te Amotu-Takanawa, father of the late Te Mapu-Takanawa. Te Amotu and his people were living in Puta-atua *pa*, and Te Ra-ka-taha got Te Amotu, Te Paki-o-rangi and eight others into the canoe, but they were seen and pursued by Te Wera's *ope*, and then commenced a race for life as the two canoes dashed onwards towards Tapuae-haruru. The pursuers gained on the others so quickly that both canoes reached the beach almost at the same moment. The party of Ngati-Pikiao at once took to the forest, fleeing along the Tahuna track which leads to Roto-ehu. Upon reaching a small stream

called Taupo, about midway between the lakes, the fleeing party were overtaken by Nga-Puhi and would all have been killed, but for the devotion of Te Amotu, who, bidding his comrades save themselves by flight, engaged their pursuers single-handed. After killing two with his *taiaha* he was overpowered and slain—all the others escaped. The survivors fled through to Rotoma lake, and joined two *hapus* of Ngati-Pikiao, named Ngati-Tama-kari and Ngati-Makino, then occupying the Mori-a-pawa *pa* on the lake. Te Wera's party returned to Otairoa.

"In a few days, Hongi, with the bulk of the force, arrived at Roto-ehu, where their presence was soon detected by the *tutei*, or scouts of the local tribes. Nga-Puhi had camped at a place called Maungatapu, and during that night they were attacked by a small band of Ngati-Makino and Ngati-Tama-kari (and I think some of Tautari's people). The local people had only their *rakau maori*, or native weapons, and not a single musket, yet in the confusion of the attack and darkness of the night, they succeeded in killing and carrying off the body of a Nga-Puhi chief named Kai-kinikini, besides eight others. It was Te-Ra-ka-taha, before mentioned, who killed this man, whilst Tahuri-o-rangi, a chief of Ngati-Pikiao, lately deceased, killed another chief whose name has escaped me. Hongi's *taua* had a wholesome dread of these people, who subsequently succeeded in several similar attacks, so they quickly moved on to attack Mokoia. After the fall of that place and peace was established, mainly through Te Wera's and Hikairo's exertions, Hongi's *ope* returned to the coast by the way they came. These incidents were told to me in 1866, by Te Ra-ka-taha and Tahuri-o-rangi, as we visited each site where they had attacked Nga-Puhi, and described on the ground the various incidents.

"The late Rev. Mr. Spencer told me, when he settled at Tara-wera, in 1848, Te Mapu Takanawa came to him and extorted a promise—which he never allowed Mr. Spencer to forget—to the effect that all his discarded "bell-toppers" should be given to Te Mapu, one of which was always carefully placed on the stone marking the spot where Te Amotu fell" (to which I may add, that I saw the stone with the hat myself in 1874).

I feel pleased through Captain Mair's help, in being able thus to place on record the noble action of Te Amotu, in sacrificing himself to save his fellow tribesmen.

Again Captain Mair supplies the following detail with reference to the proceeding of the Nga-Puhi after the fall of Mokoia (p. 112) (J.P.S., Vol. IX, p. 104.) "The Arawa people who escaped from Mokoia, swam towards Kawaha, on the east shore of the lake, a distance of fully two and a-half miles. Many were drowned in mid-lake, but a large number succeeded in reaching the shore. Te Rakau

of the Arawa, greatly distinguished himself; after killing many of the invaders with his *taiaha*, he was pursued, and plunging into the lake, dived into a small cave where his pursuers could not find him. He emerged therefrom during the night and succeeded in killing several more of the enemy. This operation he repeated on successive nights whilst great efforts were made to capture him, but he succeeded in escaping by swimming to the mainland at Kawaha."

"In reference to Te Ao-kapu-rangi; she was a woman of rank of the Ngati-Rangi-wewehi tribe, and married Te Wera, the Nga-Puhi chief (she was captured by him in 1818, see Tarakawa's "Doings of Te Wera," J.P.S., Vol. VIII, p. 242), and being anxious to save her own people when Mokoia was attacked, she insisted on going with the *taua*. So she importuned her husband and through him Hongi Hika, to save her friends. To this Hongi at last unwillingly consented, making it a condition that all who passed between her thighs should be saved. She was in Hongi's canoe, when Te Awaawa (who owned the only musket on the island) crept behind a flax bush just where the canoe landed, and fired, knocking Hongi over, and, as my old friend Pango informed me, giving Hongi "a bad headache for three days." Hongi's fall, though protected from a wound by his steel helmet, created a sort of panic, during which Te Ao-kapu-rangi sprang ashore and quickly making her way to a large house belonging to her tribe, she stood with her legs straddled above the doorway, at the same time imploring her people to enter the house, which they did, till the house could contain no more, and all these were saved. Hence is the Ngati-Rangi-wewehi saying—" *Ano ko te whare whawhao a Te Ao-kapu-rangi* " "This is like the crowded house of Te Ao-kapu-rangi." It was this circumstance that brought about peace with Nga-Puhi. Te Ao-kapu-rangi, having obtained permission, went for her uncle Hikairo, who was in hiding in the Mango-rewa forest at a place named Te Ahi-tutu-hinau, and took him to Hongi at Mokoia. Hongi gave him his helmet, a Morian cap he had received from George IV. on his visit to England in 1820, and which Te Awaawa's bullet had damaged. This helmet subsequently fell into the hands of an old Ngati-Parua chief named Tahuri-o-rangi, who showed it to me at Te Waerenga in 1867, but it was buried in the old man's house at his death in 1873.

(Page 108) (J.P.S. Vol. IX, p. 95). I have mentioned the incident occurring at Orahiri, just after the fall of Matakitaiki in 1822, when a number of Waikato woman were captured. Captain Mair kindly supplies some additional information, which is illustrative of Maori manners at that period. "As to Hui-putea, I am told this name was given, not as that of a man, but—as the name implies—

of the peculiar circumstances occurring there ; and that the successful midnight surprise took place at Otorohanga, close to that fine *kahikatea* tree near Ellis' timber mills. It seems that after Matakītaki, the refugees, including Te Wherowhero fled inland, and meeting a chief of Ngāti-Whakātere named Te Ota-pehi with his people near Rangitoto mountain at a place called Pa-motumotu, Te Wherowhero asked him, "*Tera ranei ahau e maru i a koe ?*" Can you shelter me, (i.e., avenge my wrongs), to which Te Ota-pehi replied, "*Ac! ka maru koe i toku pureke ; he kahu pitongatonga !*" Yes, I will clothe you with an impervious and invincible garment !—I will assist you in obtaining revenge. Accordingly Te Ota-Pehi accompanied Te Wherowhero with a small band of *tina toa* (chosen warriors), and cautiously made their way down the valley of the Wai-pari, approaching Otorohanga about dark. Here they met a woman who had escaped from Nga-Puhi who told them that a *taua* of between seventy and eighty strong had come up the Waipa valley from the direction of Matakītaki, taking a lot of prisoners 'principally women' at Orahirī, included amongst whom was one of great rank and beauty named Te Riu-toto. The Nga-Puhi had brought their captives to Otorohanga, and were then indulging in horrible excesses, feasting on the dead, and shamefully abusing poor Riu-toto. Te Wherowhero made the woman return to Nga-Puhi and convey a message to the captive women to the effect that they would be rescued as soon as the morning star rose, and in the meantime to exercise their arts of fascination on their captors to their utmost extent. The women did so, and during the night the small band of *tangata-whenua* approached near. At the crossing of the Waipa on the south-west side of the present township, near Mr. Mace's house, they caught one of the Nga-Puhi who was starting off to plunder on his own account. Ere he could cry out his captors put his head under water and soon put an end to him. Cautiously surrounding the Nga-Puhi camp, where the enemy exhausted, weary, and unsuspecting were lying, Te Wherowhero and his maddened band closed in on them and before they could free themselves from the embraces of these modern Delilahs, were stricken down never to rise again. Fully sixty of Nga-Puhi were thus accounted for, and the wholesome fear which this exploit induced into the invader's hearts, made them listen to the mission of the Waikato chiefs, Te Kihirini and Te Kanewa-te-whakaete, who had been taken prisoners at Matakītaki" (as already related). "Riu-toto was captured at Ta-rakerake near the Orahirī mill dam. Only one of Nga-Puhi escaped from this surprise which was called "*Hui-puea*," because the enemy was caught "all in one basket," or heap, with the captured women mixed up with them."

(Page 108) J.P.S., Vol. IX., page 100, foot note. Captain Mair also supplies the following:—"Te Hama-i-waho was killed at Ohiwa in 1828 (not 1838) for there it was that the fierce battle between Ngati-Awa (Ngati-hoko-pu) and the Whakatohea took place, at One-kawa, where this chief fell. This was the year my father as master of the mission schooner "Herald," together with the Revds. Messrs. Davis, Hamlin and Williams, sailed to the Bay of Plenty"—the first English vessel to communicate with the natives since Captain Cook, says the "Missionary Record." "Calling in at Tauranga, they found Koraurau of Ngai-Te-Rangi living with his people in the densely populated *pa* at Te Papa" (present site of Tauranga town). "That very night Koraurau's wife bore him a son who is still living and named Hohepa Hikutaia, or 'Te Mea. My father gave the woman some blankets and American twill shirts, and in return was presented with a greenstone *mere* called "Rau-karaka" now in the Auckland Museum. Three days after they sailed towards Opotiki, Te Papa was taken by Te Rohu, son of Te Rangi-anini, of Ngati-Tama-te-ra of the Thames, and Koraurau and most of his people slain. His wife plunged into the harbour with her new born son on her back, but was pierced through by a musket ball, yet she managed to reach the opposite shore near Whare-roa, where she died.

"On the 'Herald' reaching Ohiwa, the tide being unfavourable for entering the harbour, my father took the dingey and landed on the beach at One-kawa Bluff, and was horrified to find a large number of freshly slain dead lying on the beach. It seems that Ngati-Awa after slaying some 60 or 70 of their opponants were so overcome with grief at the loss of their famous young chief, that they fled with the body to Whakatane, leaving the defeated Whakatohea fleeing in the opposite direction towards Opotiki. The attack on the Whakatohea was led by a very small number of Ngati-Awa under Te Hama-i-waho who was overcome and slain ere his father Apa-nui and the main body could arrive on the scene. On learning the death of his favourite son, he made a long detour lest the sight of his dead son's body should unnerve him, and uttered his *poroporoaki*, or farewell, saying, "*Haere e tama E! Hai kona ra. E te iwi arahina ahau ki te ururua o te Whare-kura!* Farewell, O Son! Go hence! O Tribe! Lead me to where the warriors of the foe are thickest." His terrible onslaught on the Whakatohea caused such a panic that his son was terribly avenged."

This voyage took place in 1828, for Nga-rara, of Whakatane, was shot in 1829 in attempting to cut off the "Herald" when at that place.

HONGI'S VICTORY OVER TE RARAWA AND AU-POURI TRIBES.

Mr. Maxwell supplies the following particulars of one of Hongi's conquests, of which, I believe, there is no other record. It was told to him by Hone Peti, probably the best living authority on Nga-Puhi History, and corroborated by Hare-te-Heihei. The date may be fixed by the following: Mr. Maxwell was told it occurred a year or so before Hongi went to England (1820), and the Maori narrative of Patu-one and Tu-whare's great expedition (Page 41, J.P.S., Vol. VIII., page 217) commences by saying that it was shortly after the return of Nga-Puhi from the conquest of the north that Patuone's expedition started for the south, which was in October, 1819, so the probability is that Hongi's conquest of the north was in 1818, or 1819; it is said Nga-Puhi had very few guns at that time. Mr. Maxwell says, "Hongi Hika led an expedition against the Au-pouri tribe, when Hou-taewa, a famous fighting chief of the Au-pouri was killed, the *take* or cause was this: Te Rarawa tribe, living at Ahi-para, had been at war with the Au-pouri tribe of the North Cape, for a long time, but had always been beaten by Hou-taewa. They finally surrounded him and his *taua* near Huka-tere—a place on the long sandy coast that runs from Ahi-para to Cape Maria van Dieman—while they were cooking food. But Te Hou-taewa cut his way through the enemy, killing many, including Tutei, a relative of the great Nga-Puhi chief Titore. This death caused Nga-Puhi to take up the quarrel of the Rarawa tribe, and a war-party under Hongi-Hika attacked the Au-pouri at their *pa* of Huka-tere. But they could not take the *pa* and lost many men by sorties headed by Te Hou-taewa, who killed their bravest warriors and carried off their bodies to the *pa* to be eaten. This so exasperated Nga-Puhi that they determined to storm the *pa* at all costs. Tau-i-nui of Ohaeawae (afterwards killed with Pomare in Waikato 1826—see *ante*) was indebted to the Au-pouri for services rendered on their part, and, stealing up to the *pa* in the night, informed the besieged of Hongi's intention, and advised them to flee, promising to give timely notice of the attack by firing off his musket, and when their line of retreat would be clear. While the *aroa-kapas*, or companies of Nga-Puhi were forming for the attack, a musket went off. Upon enquiry it was reported, "It is only Tau-i cleaning his gun." The attack was made, and the *pa* found to be abandoned, none except a few wounded were to be found. A pursuit of the fugitives at once commenced. Six of the Nga-Puhi, headed by Te Kiroa of Manga-kahia, whilst in pursuit, discovered a wounded man being assisted by a woman, over the ford at Hou-hora river. This was Te Hou-taewa and his sister. He

had been wounded by a musket ball in the thigh, Te Kiroa attacked and slew him; he then cut off Te Hou-taewa's head and with the woman returned to the Rarawa and Nga-Puhi *tana*. The former people held a *tangi* over the head, as that of a relative who had been slain by Nga-Puhi. The combined *tana* then returned to their homes without further molesting Te Au-pouri. The latter tribe completely lost their prestige after Te Hou-taewa's death, and never regained any importance. Te Kiroa took the name of the warrior he had slain."

But Te Au-pouri had not yet come to an end of their troubles, for Pana-kareao of Te Rarawa tribe finally conquered those who escaped the hands of Nga-Puhi. Mr. Maxwell continues: "The circumstances which lead up to the war between Te Pātu and Au-pouri tribes, and constituted a valid *take* or reason why Pana-kareao, chief of the Kai-tote *hapu* of Te Pātu attacked and defeated them, thereby establishing his *māna*, from Awa-nui to Muri-whenua (North Cape), arose as follows: In the first place it must be premised, that Te Au-pouri tribe and Ngati-Kuri tribe (of Whanga-pe) are closely related, both tribes living originally at Whanga-pe and Herekino. They often fought savagely amongst themselves, and also with Te Rarawa living at Puke-poto (between Ahi-para and Kaitaia) and at Taka-hue (inland of Kaitaia). Hongi Keepa, son of Te Uma, chief of Ngati-Kuri, and then residing at Kapo-wairua (between Spirits Bay and Pa-rengarenga, North Cape) wished to marry an Au-pouri woman. A dispute arose about this, and Hongi Keepa was very roughly handled, indeed blood was shed. Hongi Keepa then attacked and defeated the Au-pouri tribe, which fled—some to Whangaroa, and there stayed with Ngati-Pou, others went to the Bay of Islands, as they had relatives there, amongst them the chief Hengi, of Ngati-rehia *hapu* of Nga-Puhi, who had married a woman of Ngati-Kuri and Te Au-pouri. (Hengi was afterwards killed at the "Girls' War" at Kororareka, March 1830, as already related).

"When Hongi-Hika attacked and drove out Ngati-Pou from Whangaroa in 1827, some of the Au-pouri went with him. When Hongi was wounded by Ngati-Pou at Oporehu, Te Au-pouri returned to Taka-hue and remained there under the protection of Pana-kareao. After a time these refugees persuaded Pana-kareao to attack Hongi-Keepa in revenge for having driven them out from their homes at the North Cape. In this campaign, Hongi-Keepa was defeated and killed, and Ngati-Kuri and the remainder of the Au-pouri dispersed, the former returning to their old home at Whanga-pe, and the latter fleeing to the Three King's Islands, where they remained until the advent of the Missionaries to Kai-taia in 1834, when they returned to their homes at Muri-whenua."

From an old document in my possession I can add another item respecting the death of Hongi-Keepa. From this it appears that he had decided to escape from the *pa* in which he and his people were besieged, but before leaving his friends, he sung the following farewell song. On going forth at night he was caught by Pana-kareao's people, and killed.

Tera hoki koia te marama,
 A hikitia ake i te pae ra,
 Au ki raro nei ka tirohia-e-
 I raro ra a Heke,
 Tenei te wairua-e-
 Whakaehu po kei taku tinana-e-
 Oi taku tatari, tira haere ra,
 A 'Kiri ra, hei kawe atu-e-
 Pae whenua ki Kapo-wairua-e-
 A tirohia te whare o Nga-uma
 A ringihia mai taku rangi-e-
 Hinu koia o te koinga ra-e-
 O Hura kei waho-e
 Te hoko Ati-Kuri e moea-e-
 Kati ka mauru
 Te Aroha i a au na-e-

Behold there the gentle moon,
 Arising from the horizon.
 Whilst I am seen by it below here,
 Far away is my lover Heke,¹
 Whilst her spirit alone is here
 In nightly dreams my body visits her,
 O that I had waited for the travelling party
 Of 'Kiri,² to carry me beyond
 The ridge to Kapo-wairua,³
 To see the house of Nga-uma⁴
 And have my head anointed
 With the oil of Koinga⁵ fish,
 Caught by Hura there outside,
 Amidst the tribe of Ati-Kuri⁶ dreamt of,
 Enough then, let it cease
 The love that troubles me.

THE END.

Notes:—¹ Heke was Hongi-Keepa's sweetheart, probably the lady that caused all the trouble. ² Kiri, short for Takiri, otherwise Titore the Nga-Puhi chief.

A place near the north Cape. ⁴ Nga-uma, Hongi's son. ⁵ Koinga, a kind of shank fish with a spike on the dorsal fin. ⁶ Ati-Kuri = Ngati-Kuri.



NOTES ON THE ART OF WAR,
AS CONDUCTED BY THE MAORI OF NEW ZEALAND,
WITH ACCOUNTS OF VARIOUS CUSTOMS, RITES, SUPER-
STITIONS, &c., PERTAINING TO WAR, AS PRACTISED
AND BELIEVED IN BY THE ANCIENT MAORI.

BY ELSDON BEST, OF TUHOE-LAND.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.

HERE follow a few supplementary notes pertaining to war, which have been obtained since the previous article was compiled.

AVENGING A DEFEAT.

It sometimes occurred that a war canoe (*waka taua*) would be made for the special purpose of avenging a defeat sustained by the tribe. We have already given an illustration of this. When such a canoe was finished, an expedition would be sent forth in order to slay a person of some adjacent tribe as a *koangaumu*, or human sacrifice, to *whakamana* the canoe and the task of its crew, *i.e.* : to give prestige to the foray or expedition, to ensure success. A canoe made for this purpose is termed a *waka takitaki mate*. And, in the days that lay before, the members of this tribe would taunt the tribe from which the sacrifice was taken, in this manner : You were slain as a *koangaumu* for my canoe.

In like manner, a human sacrifice was made in the case of a special house built in order to avenge a defeat.

Now, in regard to the above canoe, it does not follow that the warriors who go in her to avenge a defeat or murder, will attack the enemy. Not at all. The Maori of yore had a much simpler and safer way for equalizing matters. For instance, they may proceed on this wise. They board their new war canoe and paddle forth until they reach the coast of the land occupied by the people who defeated them, or slew one of their number. Here the expedition ends, for

they simply lie off the land and *whakatikoki* the canoe, *i.e.*, they cause the canoe to cant over towards the land inhabited by their enemies. "*Heoti ano! Kua ea te mate. Kua hoki mai.*"—That is all. The defeat is avenged. The warriors return. This simple method of obtaining revenge I would earnestly recommend to the Hague Conference.

Hoa rakau. A good specimen of this charm may be seen in Sir George Grey's "Polynesian Mythology," in the story of Hatupatu.

WEAPONS.

I am informed by an old chief of the Tuhoe tribe that the sling was sometimes used in fighting, for casting stones. Probably it was but little used, as no mention is made of it in accounts of old time fights.

The *tārōwai*, a war weapon of old, appears to have been the *pouwhenua* under another name, according to the description of it given me.

In a sanguinary fight at O-tumutu, at Rua-toki, between Tuhoe and Ngati-Awa, one Mano-hunuku of the former tribe fought with his favourite weapon, a famous *taiaha* named Whaitiri-papa, with which he slew two men. Hence the name of that weapon was given to the fight, and also to the land on which it took place.

Regarding the *tapu* which lies upon a battlefield where blood has been shed. Many of Ngati-Rongo were slain by Tapoto's little surprise party at Maringi-a-wai, some five generations ago, and that place remained *tapu* until Te Kooti, of infamous memory, sent a man to take the *tapu* off.

Pokapoka.—When Tuhoe and Te Whakatohea were at war, a party of the latter, under Hine-auahi, a fighting chief, came to Huka-nui and slew about thirty of the former, including the chief Te Paenga. A hole was dug to mark the spot where Te Paenga fell.

DESCENT FROM TE PAENGA.

Te Paenga
Moenga
Tama-ruru II.
Hona
Te Roau
Te Pou-whare
Nga-paki (now living)

When the war party of Ngati-Irawharo and others under Tuki-kauri, Mauri, Te Umu-ariki (of Tuhoe) &c., marched to the East Coast, a child named Rewiri (of Ngati-Awa), father of Tiaki, was one of the party, he being carried often by his father, Parera. In the defeat which overtook the *ope*, this child was captured and kept by the

enemy. Some years later, Ngati-Awa heard that the child was still living, hence Tama-hewa, his uncle, trudged off to the East Coast and induced the captors of the child to let him take him home. He gave a *patu pounamu* in exchange for him.

When Taka-moana, of Te Karake, was slain at Opokere, his liver was utilised as a bait for a hawk trap (*tahiti kaahu*). This sort of thing often led to long continued feuds among the Maori, but the spirit of revenge was so strong that such acts were frequently committed.

Taharua.—We have seen that Takarehe was slain by one Tama-hape, at Rustoki, who, with his daughter, made a truly square meal off that hapless gentleman. But Ngati-Awa, Ngati-Pukeko, and Warahoe, objected to having their friends eaten in that manner, hence they rose in arms and marched to attack Tuhoe at the Ohae *pa*. On nearing that old time fort, the party hid themselves in a clump of *tutu* shrubs near the Oro-mairoa creek, while their scouts were sent out. Now one Rangi-tupu-ki-waho, a member of the war party, was a friend or relative of some of the garrison of Ohae, and hence wished to warn them of the coming trouble. So he raised his head above the bushes, and a quick-eyed Tuhoean sentry caught sight of the *kotuku* plumes with which Rangi's head was adorned. Thus warned, the garrison sent a party out, unperceived, to ambush the attacking force; the bulk of the garrison manned the defences. The invaders attacked in three different columns simultaneously, but found themselves assaulted in rear, and were eventually beaten off. So much for the work of the *taharua*.

Te Whanau-a-Taupara heard that there was trouble toward. So they located themselves within the Matai *pa* at Wai-hora, where they were joined by some of Nga-Potiki from Wai-kobu. The fort was besieged by a force of Rongo-whakaata and Te Aitanga-a-Hauti. This was about the beginning of the nineteenth century. The siege began just after the *kumara* crop was planted, and was not raised until the crops were fit for eating. Poriro, one of the garrison, sallied forth one day, and engaged in single combat with Mou, chief of the attacking force. Mou caught his opponent by his long hair and was taking him away, when a sister of his captive attacked him and struck him down with a stone. The attacking force spent much time in collecting wood, which they carried to the fort and threw it in heaps, that they might make a huge fire and so destroy the palisading. But the defenders did not let it accumulate. They set fire to it and manned the fighting stages in order to prevent the enemy from putting the fire out. The hapless warriors on the *puwhara* were almost suffocated with the smoke, hence one of them acquired the name of *Kapo-auahi*. There was a *taharua* among the garrison whom the

investing force called to to come out of the fort and join them. The garrison were afraid that he would inform the enemy how short their food supplies were becoming, so to make sure, they killed him. Dead men, they argued, could tell no tales. About this time the fell epidemic known as the *rewharewha* made its appearance, and struck down both besiegers and besieged. Thus the siege was raised. But the survivors of the garrison were so weak that they could not tend their sick, or procure food, and so had to send to Ngai-Tamatea to come to their assistance.

EFFECT OF AN INSULT.—While one Whakauika was strolling past the O-a-moa *pa* at Waihora, one fine morn, he was cursed by a lady named Rangi-rehua for having crossed her garden. In revenge, he returned with a party and attacked her people, drove them away, and took possession of the land.

Tohunga taua.—The head priest of the *tohunga taua* class of the priesthood was the most important priest of the tribe. He alone might perform the rites pertaining to the cutting of the hair of the sacred first-born member of a family of note. This ceremony was performed at the *wai kotikoti* (syn.: *wai whakaika*).

Amorangi.—As observed, this was an emblem of an *atua*, carried by a priest in the van of a marching war party. At page 85 of Sir George Grey's "Maori Proverbs" is the following:—

"Te amorangi ki mua
Te hapai o ki muri."

Rendered as—"Every one should be in his place; in a march of troops the priests with the gods are in front, the bearers of provisions in rear of the army."

Another old-time *whakatauki* of this district is—"He toa taua, he toa e waia; he toa ahu whenua, he toa tuturu." This is as given to me, but probably the word *waia* should be replaced by *wasu*. Another is, "He toa taumata rau"—Bravery has many resting places, one man gains distinction to-day, another to-morrow.

TREATMENT OF WOUNDED PERSONS.—When a man was wounded, a bone broken, or bruises received, the priest would proceed to *takahi* the patient, *i.e.*—he would, as his patient lay upon the ground, place his left foot upon his body and repeat the charm termed *haruru*:—

"Haruru ki tua
Haruru ki waho
Haruru ki runga ki tenei tangata."

After which the priest would repeat the charm known as *hono* for a fractured bone, or the *whai wera* if a burn.

KARAKIA HONO.

"Tao ka tu
Ka tu ki hea?
Ka tu ki runga
Ka tu ki waho"

Ka tu ki te nana nui o Rangi
 Ma wai e mimi?
 Ma tahito e mimi.
 Ma wai e mimi?
 Ma te atua e mimi
 Taku kiri nei
 Taku kiri tapu
 He kiri ka toetoea
 Ka hahaea ki te taha o te umu
 Hai!
 Ka toro te kiri ora
 Ka mahu te kiri ora
 Mahumahu akuanei
 Mahumahu apopo."

The priest placed his left foot on the body of his patient, because that is the *waewae tapu* (sacred foot). The *manea*, or supernatural power of the priests foot, will render the charm effective. The *manea* is the salvation of man. Its influence is very great.

In the case of a cut or slight wound the sufferer would simply urinate on it. This is said to prevent a wound from becoming inflamed, or the part from swelling. Abrasions were often treated by bathing with the sap of a plant named *mārūrū* or *kopukupuku* (*ranunculus plebeius*), which causes a smarting sensation when applied.

Tiwha.—During the expedition of Te Whakatohea to Poverty Bay, one Hangarau, a chief of that tribe, visited the Whanau-a-Taupara people at the O-tu-hawaiki *pa*, where he was slain. His head was cut off, dried, and sent to Hou-taketake, of Ngati-Ira, who carried it to Te Kani-a-takirau, of Uawa, as a *tiwha* to Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti tribe, whose assistance was wanted in fighting the Whakatohea.

At page 25, vol. ix., of this Journal will be found an account of some peculiar items in regard to war.

Matakite.—During the above-mentioned period of trouble at Turanga a man of Te Whanau-a-Taupara, named Te Noti, who had been enslaved by Te Urewera, escaped and reached Makihoi, a Ngati-Potiki settlement at Turanga, where he found 500 Whakatohea encamped. He overheard these people arranging plans to attack the adjacent forts. So he slipped away and went to Pa-whakawiri, near which place he saw a man snaring birds. Noti, not taking any chances of being slain by his own tribesman, crawled up behind the fowler and caught him in his arms. His captive called out his name, Kuhukuhu, upon which Noti sent him to warn his people. The tribes gathered at Waenga-repo *pa* to consult, and a priest said: "It has come to my knowledge that, if you build a fort at a certain place, and await the attack of the Whakatohea, you will defeat them with the loss to yourselves of but two chiefs." This was done and the invaders were beaten off, albeit the garrison did not lose the two chiefs mentioned in the *matakite*. Maybe that the gods relented.

When a force of Te Whanau-a-kai, and others, were marching to attack the Tapatahi *pa* (near Te Arai bridge, Poverty Bay), they halted in order to plan the attack, during which time one Rangitaetaea fell asleep, and dreamed that his hair was caught in a forest creeper. In pulling to free the same, he awoke. Rangi mentioned the dream, and said : "This is an evil omen ; let us return." A warrior said : "*I mahara au he tangata koe, e kao, he ika tupuhi.*"—I thought you were a man : No, you are but a lean fish. Rangi returned, but the *ope* proceeded, and sent forward seventy men to draw the garrison of the fort out into the open. But that garrison were already outside, having heard of the advance of an enemy, and laid an ambuscade for them. Thus the seventy were promptly sent down to Hades. But Rangi was alright.

Te Rito-o-te-rangi was slain at Te Mahia, for having joined a Waikato war party against Puke-karoro *pa*. Te Autahi went to Waikato to raise a party to avenge the death of Te Rito. That party marched to O-tu-pohatu *pa* at Mohaka, and thence proceeded to attack the Rangi-houa *pa*, which is situated on the low bluff at the mouth of the Wairoa river, the signal station being within the line of earth-works. The force took this *pa*, killing Tau-tahanga and others, and then attacked Whare-okoro *pa*, which was situated hard by on an islet in the Wairora river. But here the Waikato force was repelled, losing Te Morenga and others. Now, just prior to the attack of Waikato on Rangi-houa, a priest in that fort had a *matakite*. His particular god was good enough to thus warn him that an enemy would shortly attack the fort, and that the same would fall, hence it was desirable that the garrison should fall back on Whare-okoro fort and there seek safety. But the garrison did not see it in that light, and most of them declined to flee. Some of them, however, went, and there escaped the fate which befell their comrades. It is not well to despise the warning of the gods.

When the fighting men of Te Waimana, under Rehua, Haruru and others were about to march to join in the fight against Ngati-Awa at Te Kauna, Haruru dreamed that he saw Awarehe's canoe at anchor, and that he struck the bow of the canoe with his fist and splintered it. On awaking, he cried to the warriors : "Listen to me, O, Te Urewera, to-morrow Awa shall be defeated." As they truly were.

Pa Maori.—The *waha tieke* of a fort is the inner gateway. Passing through the main (outer) entrance, a person found himself within a narrow lane, bounded on one side by the defences of the fort, on the other by a line of palisades extending for the length of the lane. At the inner end of this lane was the *waha tieke*. An enemy endeavouring to force this passage would be obliged to run the gauntlet, as it were, and have but a poor chance of using their weapons in so

cramped a space. The Okarea *pa*, on the Wai-a-tiu, affords a good illustration of this narrow passage.

Colenso gives *awhikiri* as another name of the *kiri-tangata*, one of the palisade defences of a *pa*.

An interesting description of an old *pa* near Rotorua was published in the "Weekly News" (Auckland) of October 30th, 1902. The artificial defences were described as deep trenches, from 20 to 40 feet in depth, cut across a narrow spur, the sides of which are precipitous. In the steep slopes are many artificial caves, connected each with the other, and hewn out of the rock—with stone axes, saith the writer. One would imagine that the rock cannot be very hard. The name of the *pa* is Te Pehu, and it is said to have been a stronghold of the Tapuika tribe, who fortified it some hundred and thirty years ago.

The only instance I wot of where an underground passage was made in a fort, was at the Hui-te-rangi-ora *pa* at Ruatoki, and by which passage the famous Rongo-karae escaped when the fort fell to Ngati-Awa.

When Te Ahuru died at Te Tawhero *pa* at Ruatoki, that fort was abandoned on account of it being rendered *tapu* by the death of a chief therein.

A *Whakaaraara Pa*.

"Kia hiwa ra!
Kia hiwa ra!
Kia hiwa ra tenei tuku
Kia hiwa ra tera tuku
He taua ra ka hopukia
Kai waho kai te tātā
E riri ana, e wheke ana
He kokoia
E ara—E!"

A *Whakaaraara pa*

"Kai Tuhua pea
Kai Orona pea
He kore tangata ki tua
Ki te kope o Tamatea
Te hurua
Te rawea
Te tau mai
E-e-e-i-a."

A *Whakaaraara Pa*.

"Piki mai ra
Kake mai ra
I nga pikitanga ki Pari-maukuuku
Ka titiro iho, ka rarapa ake
Ki to kopua wai hinu
Māna ano ka koukou ki te wai
Kia pai ai koe te haere ki te taua
Ina koia e te taua
E-e-e-i-a."

Here follow a few anecdotes illustrative of divers customs, &c., of ye olden times :—

Ngai-Te-Riu, of Rua-tahuna, had lost a greenstone *toki* and suspected the people of Te Kohuru of having stolen it. They sent an armed party to obtain satisfaction. This party, on arriving at Te Kohuru, met Te Purewa on the trail, and at once attacked him as an *ihu taua*. He was speared in several places and left for dead, but was found by Tama-hore, and recovered from his wounds. Te Hani, chief of the district, made over to Te Purewa a piece of land at Taurere-toa, where the fight occurred, on account of his blood having been shed there. He had no ancestral right to lands in that part.

When Rongo-whakaata and other tribes attacked the Mapouriki *pa*, near Ormond, one Poriro entered the fort alone and fought the garrison single-handed for some time. His brother Te Whetu, missing him, went in search and found him still fighting, but down on his knees and wounded in eight places. This is what a Maori would term an act of *whakamomori*. The famed Hine-matiore was in the fort during the above fight.

Some singular things were done in the old fighting days. When Nga-Potiki (of Turanga) and the wandering Whakatohea were living in a fortified village at Wai-kohu, one Taniwha chose to offend Kau-moana, a Turanga chief, by threatening to cut out and eat his heart. Kau sent messages for assistance to Uawa and also to Nukutaurua, where Te Wera, of Nga Puhi, was encamped. So Te Wera came, with many others, from various parts, and the *pa* was invested. The besiegers slew all who left the *pa* in search of food. Te Awa-riki left the fort on the promise that his life would be spared. He was at once slain. The garrison were now much reduced by hunger. Te Wera and Ngati-Kahungunu resolved to save Te Whakatohea, who were in the *pa*. They therefore charged the place in a body, surrounded the Whakatohea and marched them to their own camp, where they protected them from their allies. Thus they had left Nga-Potiki in the fort, to be slaughtered. But Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki resolved to save them and so marched them back to their own camp. Hence there was no one left to kill. Ben Harris, the first European in the district, who was under the protection of Mahuika, was present at this affair. He entered the *pa* with his long boots filled with bullets, and brought out one Te Ngaue, a child of rank of Te Whakatohea, lest he be slain. This occurred in the year 1832.

It was wise to treat guests well in those days, because when the Wai-kohu natives were attending a function at the Taranga *pa*, they were given somewhat inferior food. Hence they organised a war party and came and attacked those thoughtless people, defeated them and took their *pa*.

And it is good to be able to adapt oneself to altered circumstances, and not to stand too long on one's dignity : When Tuhoe took the Pou-o-Rutake *pa* at Rua-toki, one Te Papa, chief of that famous fort, seemed to think that it was high time to cast aside his dignity. Hence he started to run away. But he had the sagacity to shoulder two eel pots before starting, in order that the pursuing party might think he was a *ware*, or commoner, and so leave him to push on in an endeavour to catch and slay the flying chief. Which is just what happened. For Te Rangi-aniwaniwa saw him, but took him for a person of no account, and so did not pursue him.

And Karetehe waxed old. He was a very old man, and feeble, when a war party of Te Marangaranga, from Kawerau, attacked his *pa* and took the same. And the sons of Karetehe put the old man in a pit, inside his house, and covered the pit over. And the victors fired that house. So the sons left the old man in the pit and fled, that they might retain life, which is sweet. Such was the end of Karetehe.

Hou o Tu.—When a man became noted for his knowledge, bravery, cleverness, &c., and it was deemed desirable to render him *tapu*, *i.e.*, to dedicate his qualities to certain labours or purposes, the *hou o Tu* rite would be performed over him. That is to say, the *kawa* known as *Hangaroa* would be *houa*, or placed, upon him. “*Ka kitea tetahi tangata mohio, kaha, ka houa taua tangata ki te hou no Tu. Ka tapu taua tangata. Ka houa a Hangaroa karakia ki runga ki a ia.*” He will then possess great *mana*, or prestige. During this rite, the priest plucks a hair from his own head and places it, together with a leaf or twig of the *karamu* shrub, upon the head of the subject.

The expression *whana turu* seems to apply to a defective, half-hearted *kokiri*, or charge, in fighting. When the column charges, at the cry of “*Kokiri ! Kokiri ! Kokiritia !*” some charge on, while others hang back.

The peculiar term *kai rakau* implies bravery, and is said to have originated in the custom of claspings the long spears of the enemy in the arms, a process described by the word *okooko*. This act would give others an opportunity to rush in and use their weapons with effect. Such acts were performed by men of noted courage.—*Koina hoki te kai okooko i nga rakau a te hoariri.*

The peculiar short, quick, trotting movement of a column in the *unuunu* movement prior to a war dance (*tutu waeuae*) is described by the term *tārā*, the word *toi* not being used for this motion.

The following expressions denoted certain methods of fighting, &c., although I have no explanation of them:—*Huia-upoko*, *takitaki-a-manu*, *hiwi-maire*, *rua-tapuke*, *kura-horahora*, *wha-raupo*, and *timu*.

The word *whākau* was sometimes used as *karapoti*=to surround in fighting, but usually to the drawing of a fishing net.

Whakarewha. = To glance sideways; often used as a signal, as for instance, a mute proposal to persons to turn upon and slay a person present.

Riri aupaki. = To charge up a slope at the enemy. The terms *aupaki* and *tupaki* are used to denote a sideling, slope of a hill.

The *hirihihi*, commencing—

“ Kotahi koe ki te matamua
Kotahi koe ki te manuka
Kotahi koe ki te pouahi,” &c., &c.,

was often used in order to discover the cause of *hauhauaitu* in a fighting man. When so seen, he would be cured by a first born female of a family of rank—*ka tomo ki raro o te tapairu*, for which see *ante*.

Marangai areare (or *maranga i areare*?) denotes the lifting of a weapon so high that the user's adversary has a chance to run in underneath the same and deliver a blow. “*He marangai areare kai waho,—omakia!*”

Taupaepeae. = A party of fighting men who assemble at a given place in order to await the arrival of an enemy, not an ambuscade. Or to await the time for an attack. *Paepae* is the verb. “*Ka hara mai te ope a Taraia. Ka tae te rongo ki a Tuhoe, ka whakatika mai, ka whakaeke e ratau a Te Takatakanga, he taupaepeae, ara he whakaeke, he tiaki, i te hoariri, e paepae ana i te ope.*” Taraia's war party was on the way hither. Tuhoe heard of it and rose in arms. They assembled and held Te Takatakanga (a *pa* at Whirinaki), as a *taupaepeae* to await the enemy.

Ure toa—A term applied to a brave tribe or people. “*Na Ngati-Rau-kawa i tiki mai i te ure toa, i a Tuhoe.*”

THE END.



NOTES ON THE CUSTOM OF RAHUI.
ITS APPLICATION AND MANIPULATION, AS ALSO ITS
SUPPOSED POWERS, ITS RITES, INVOCATIONS
AND SUPERSTITIONS.

BY ELSDON BEST.

THE singular custom known as *rāhūi* constituted one of the peculiar laws, or substitutes therefor, of Maoriland. Albeit various accounts have been published in explanation of this practise, yet no description has been rendered of the various priestly functions by which the *rahui* was established and endowed with its supposed super-natural power. It is concerning this that I propose to give a brief account, as formerly practised by the Tuhoe tribe.

In regard to its uses or application, Williams says—“*Rāhūi*, *n.*, a mark to warn people against trespassing, used in the case of *tapu*, or for temporary protection of fruit, birds or fish. *Rahui*, *v.t.*, protect by a *rahui*.”

This is a correct definition, but there is much more to explain. There were practically two kinds of *rahui*. Certain lands or streams were sometimes put under *tapu*, on account of the death of some person on such lands. There would probably be a material token set up to denote this state of *tapu*, which would *rahui* the lands, so that no person might touch the food products thereof. Or, if a certain track were placed under *tapu*, no one would be allowed to travel by that trail, until it was reopened to traffic by means of the *tapu* being removed. A *rahui* was usually marked by means of setting up a post and attaching thereto a bunch of fern, or suspending on it a garment belonging to the chief who instituted the *rahui*. Sometimes, however, no such material token was used, but the word went forth that such a place was placed under *tapu*.

The other kind of *rahui* was for the purpose of protecting the forest products, *i.e.*, berries, birds, &c., or fish, as also sometimes cultivated crops, or fern root, or flax, or places where ochre was obtained.

This *rahui* also protected the vitality and productiveness of the land, the forest and streams; in fact it acted as a *mauri*, as we shall see anon. See this Journal, Vols. IX. and X., for a description of the *mauri* of lands and forests.

After the fall of Okarea pa (fort) at Te Whaiti, the Whirinaki river was placed under *tapu**, on account of the waters thereof having been tinged with the blood of the slain in that fight. Later on, a slave, named Taupoki, was slain, as an *ika tapu*, or human sacrifice, in order to take the *tapu* off the river. His body was cooked in a *hapi*, or steam oven, at Wai-kotikoti, where the Police Station now stands, and was eaten by the people. The lake known as Rere-whakaitu, near Mount Tarawera, was also laid under *tapu*, when Tionga, of Tiaki Tutu fame, and others of Te Arawa, were slain and eaten at that place.

When Wanikau, of Te Roto-a-Tara, protected the fish and birds of the three lakes of Tara, Kiwa, and Pou-kawa, he did so in the usual manner, by setting up a post on the shore of each lake, and smearing those with *kokowai* (red ochre). This effectually preserved and protected those food supplies for Wanikau, until one Mautahi, a base fellow, yea a sacrilegious ruffian, happened along one day and pulled down and burned those posts, and passed divers unkind remarks anent Wanikau and his *rahui*.

When the children of Matui, a chief of Te Whaiti, died, the stream and valley of Okahu were placed under *rahui*, i.e. under *tapu*. No post or other material sign of the *tapu* was erected, it was merely said—Okahu is *tapu* within such and such limits. Neither was this a man destroying *tapu*, the dread powers of the black art were not employed to slay any witless breaker of the *rahui*. It was simply a ban placed upon the food products of that district. The *tapu* was lifted from it shortly after the arrival of Missionary Preece, in 1847. It will be seen hereafter that another form of *rahui* is much more dangerous than the above.

A minor form of *tapu* or *rahui* was sometimes employed in order to prevent persons travelling by a certain track, i.e. from using such track. It consisted of putting some obstruction in the path, such as a log, or branches, or a garment suspended above the track. Such are the origins of the place names of Pa-kaponga, Pa-rangiora, and Pa-puweru, in this district.

The act of disregarding a *rahui*, i.e. the taking of the food products, or whatever it is that is protected, without permission, that is without asking for the *rahui* to be lifted, is a serious offence, and is termed *kai-ra-mua*. Unless a relative, such a person would probably be slain, cooked and eaten, without delay.

The expression *turahui*, or *tu rahui*, is often heard here. "*Kua tu rahuitia te wai*," i.e. the stream has been *rahuitia* or placed under *tapu*.

Of course it requires an influential person to establish a *rahui*, more especially the kind which is endowed with magic or supernatural powers, powers deadly to the meddlesome. A chief or priest would

* Hence no one might use the waters of that river, or take fish therein.

set up the *pou rahui* (*rahui post*), because it would need to be done by a person of influence, or rather a person possessing *mana*, which term means more than our word influence.

We will suppose that such a person is setting up a post, as a material token of the *rahui* he is about to establish. Before erecting the post, he recites—

“He rokiroki,
He penapena,
He rakai whenua.”

He then puts up his post, setting it firmly in the ground, and then attaches the *māro* to the post. This *maro* is often a few fronds of the *kiwikiwi* fern. He then makes a pass with his hand over the earth, as if scoring it (*katahi ka hahae i te kahu o te whenua*). This is the *waro rahui*, the imaginary charm or pit in which shall perish all those who interfere with the things protected by the *rahui*. Our priest then proceeds to “sharpen the teeth of the *rahui* that it may destroy man,” by repeating the following (which possibly may be incomplete)—

“Tangaroa i putia
Tangaroa i haea
Tangaroa i kungia
Kia koi ou niho
To kai rakau kia pai,
Kia koi
Muimui te ngaro
Totoro te iro.”

These words are quite sufficient to destroy man, *i.e.*, if he interferes with what has been protected by the *rahui*.

The performer then takes the *māro* off the post and adds to it a stone, and these are endowed with the supernatural power of the *pou rahui*, which magic power it was imbued with through the invocation of the priest. The stone and *maro* seem to be the material representation of the *whatu* of the *rahui*, *i.e.* of the kernel, the true power, the life destroying, magic power of the same *rahui*. Such material tokens are termed *kāpū*. In the words of an old native friend of mine, the *kapu* is the imaginary semblance of the *tauru* (head) of the *rahui* post. The hand of the priest plucks at the top of the post, as if detaching some part thereof, bringing away nothing material, but only the *ariā* of the post.

The *maro* and stone are taken away and carefully concealed at some distance from the post, lest they be found, and rendered harmless, non-efficient, by some enemy. Another bunch of leaves, a false *maro*, is attached to the *rahui* post, in order to mislead any prowling person of evil designs. But that false *maro* is of no account, it has no power whatever. It has not been *hoaina*, *i.e.* no incantation has been recited over it to render it effectual in protecting the fruits of the land and their vitality, or in destroying interlopers. It has no teeth, as my informant put it.

We will suppose that some person is desirous of finding the *kapu* of the *rahui*, in order that he may destroy its magic powers, and so render it harmless. He will endeavour to *whakaoho* or rouse the *kapu*. He repeats the following, as he prowls around in search of the *kapu*:—

“ Whakaarahia ki te papa tuatahi
 He kari maranga hake.
 Whakaarahia ki te papa tuarua
 He kari maranga hake.
 Whakaarahia ki te papa tuatoru
 He kari maranga hake
 Whakaarahia ki te papa tuawha
 He kari maranga hake.
 Whakaarahia ki te papa tuarima
 He kari maranga hake.
 Whakaarahia ki te papa tuaono
 He kari maranga hake.
 Whakaarahia ki te papa tuawhitu
 He kari maranga hake
 Whakaarahia ki te papa tuawaru
 He kari maranga hake.
 Whakaarahia ki te papa tuaiwa
 He kari maranga hake
 Whakaarahia ki te papa tuangahuru
 He kari maranga hake.”

The seeker of the *kapu* then repeats :—

“ E oho! E oho Rua!
 E oho te Pu!
 E oho te More!
 E oho te Take! &c.”

“ Should I hear that some person has meddled with my *rahui* (*i.e.* has committed a *kai ra mua*), I go to the *kapu* and *turuki* it, that the person may die.” My informant states that *turuki* means to rouse, to awaken, to stir up, the *kapu*, that it may do its work of destruction, it has gone to sleep and needs stirring up. The term *turuki* seems to be applied only to the *kapu* of a *rahui*, when it is intended to destroy life. The term *whakaoho* is used when a *kapu rahui* is stirred up or strengthened in order that it may restore the productiveness of lands, &c. When it is seen that the productiveness of land, forest or water, has decreased, *i.e.* birds and fish are not plentiful, or trees do not bear well, then the caretaker of the *rahui* will fetch the *kapu* from its place of concealment, and bear it to the *ahi taitai*, a sacred fire much used in olden times in rites connected with the forests and waters, and their productions, with first fruits ceremonies, and rites performed in order to retain the vitality, health, vigour, &c., of man, lands, birds, and fish. The *kapu* is taken together with the *mauri* of the land, &c., (see this Journal Vol. X.), to the *ahi taitai* and there the *taimai* rite is performed over them, and invocations repeated, in order to restore and retain the productiveness, health, welfare, &c., of the food products, as also of the land and people.

The *ahi taitai* is an excessively *tapu* fire. It is kindled for the gods alone, and by friction. The priest, having kindled the fire, stands wand in hand, and repeats the following :—

“Taitai! Taitai! Taitai!
Te kau nunui, te kau rorua
Te rupe tu, te rupe pae
Pekepeke hauaitu
Te manu waero rua
Te hau e tu nei
Taitai!
Ma ira a tu, ma ira a pae
Pekepeke houaitu
Te hau e tu nei.”

This is the *taimai* invocation, or incantation, by which the fire is rendered *tapu*. It locates the gods in that fire, for purposes of destruction, or of salvation.

Other fires would be kindled in order to lift the *tapu* from the rite, the food for this purpose would not be cooked at the *ahi taitai*, that fire being for the gods alone.

The other sacred fires kindled for the purpose of lifting the *tapu*, are as follows :—

The *ahi tuakaha*—for the priest only.

The *ahi marae*—for the *ati a toa* (young warriors)

The *ahi ruahine*—for the first born of important families, and for the *ruahine* (women employed to take off *tapu*).

The *ahi tukupara*—for the bulk of the people.

In some cases, *mana tangata* (personal influence, prestige) alone served as a *rahui*, without any post being set up, or any rite being performed. If such a *rahui* was disregarded, then witchcraft might be resorted to, in order to punish the offenders.

The expression *waro rahui*, mentioned above, is one of those singular idioms so frequently met with in the Maori tongue. A native explained it to me in this manner—A pit is dug, in order that any person who attempts to take the food that is protected by the *rahui*, may descend into that pit and meet death. It is the pit of death. Not that any real pit is made, that is merely an expression, a simile. The magic spells of the priest are the real pit.

An influential person would sometimes *rahui* an article which he desired, simply by attaching to it a fragment of his clothing, or some such object. This would prevent any other person from interfering with it. For our illustration of *rahui* see this Journal, Vol. V., p. 47.

There were probably, in rare cases, human sacrifices made to give power, prestige, effect, to a *rahui*.

When Ngati-Whaoa slew Koroua at Otaketake, on the Paeroa Block, that hapless knight's head was cut off and stuck on a *rahui* post erected to prevent people digging fern root at a certain place on the

said block. Some time after that, a genial member of Ngati-Whaoa took the skull and planted a *taro* therein, to produce food for his child, who was given the name of Nga-Taro, from that circumstance.

A place at O-tu-taura, on the Pokohu Block, where Ngati-Pou used to obtain *kokowai* (ochre) was protected by a *rahui*.

Some five generations ago, two members* of Ngati-Patumoana tribe named two rocks in the Waireka River after themselves, to serve as a *rahui*. Those rocks are near the Korotaha fort.

Another *waro rahui* was a stone named Tu-mata-whereo, lying in the Rua-tahuna stream, below Kapiti. It was instituted in order to protect the products of the surrounding lands.

Streams were often protected by *rahui* in order to prevent the fish thereof being taken out of season. In a modified form this custom still obtains at Rua-tahuna.

In former times a *rahui* would often be instituted by the priest performing the rite at a sacred fire, which he would kindle by the world old friction process. Should any one interfere with the articles so protected, he would assuredly be taken ill, *i.e.* afflicted by the god of the priest who manipulated the fire and its attendant rite. Such a person would go to a *tohunga* (priest, shaman, wise man) in order to be cured. That priest would say—"Your complaint is a fire." The patient would reply—"Yes, I disregarded the fire of so-and-so."

Rahui posts were sometimes carved with the usual grotesque designs employed by the Maori.

Tukuha, of Ngati-Apa set up a *rahui* post at Te Rau-tawhiri at Whirinaki, which, I believe, still stands there. When he wanted to preserve the eels of that part of the Rangitaiki river, he would suspend one of his old garments on the post, and every one would then know that eels might not be taken. The same chief put up a *rahui* post, which he named after his daughter, Te Kiri-tapoa, at the Wheao stream. The same chief once placed a *rahui* on the eels of the river on account of a remark made concerning his own clan—"Waiho a Ngati-Hui hai kai ma nga tuna o Rangitaiki." (Let the Ngati-Hui people be as food for the eels of Rangitaiki).

When Tionga, of Te Arawa, was slain by Tuhoe at Puke-kai-kaahu, the victors cut off his head and smoke dried it, after which they brought it to Te Whaiti and suck it up on one of their bird snaring trees to guard the same. Hence the descendants of Tionga are known as Tiaki Tutu—those who guard the *tutu* or bird snaring tree.

A grove of *puhou* (*tutu*) known as Ure-takohekohe, at Rua-toki was formerly protected by a *rahui*, lest the berries be taken by persons having no right thereto.

Here endeth my notes on the custom of *rahui*.

* These persons were Tahu and Rua-moko.



TUTAE-POROPORO, TE TANIWHA I PATUA E AO-KEHU, I WHANGA-NUI.

— — —
NA WIREMU KAUIKA.
— — —

KO tenei taniwha, ko Tutae-poroporo, he ika no te moana—ara, he mango. Tenei te take i taniwhatia ai taua ika: akuanei ka haere teteahi tangata no Ngati-Apa ki Whakatu, ko Tu-ariki te ingoa o taua tangata, tona kainga kei Rangi-tikei. Ka tae ki Whakatu, katahi ratou ko etahi tangata o reira ka haere ki te moana ki te hi ika. Heoi, kua kai mai te mango ki te matau a taua tangata; ehara i te mango nui, he mango iti rawa, he kuao. Heoi, kihai i patua e taua tangata, engari ka mahara kia waiho hei mokamokai māna.

Heoi, ka hoki mai te tangata ra, a Tu-ariki, ki tona kainga, ki Rangi-tikei; ka mauria mai e ia tona mokamokai, ka tae mai ki Rangi-tikei. Katahi ka whakanohohia e te tangata nei tona mokai ki roto ki tetahi puna, ko Tutae-nui te ingoa o taua puna. Hanga rawatia nga paepae o te puna, ka oti. Katahi ka hoatu tona mokai ki roto; ka karakiatia hei taniwha. Ka mutu ka noho, ka roa, nawai ra i iti taua mango nei, a, kua nui-haere, a, kua pena me te tohora; kua haere hoki i roto i te awa o Tutae-nui, puta atu hoki ki te awa o Rangi-tikei, ka hoki ano ki tona nohoanga, kua nui hoki tona nohoanga. Ko te mahi hoki a tona ariki e haere tonu i nga ra katoa ki te titiro, ki te whangai, ki te karakia i nga karakia taniwha. Heoi, kua tino mohio taua taniwha, kua tino nui hoki.

Akuanei, tera tetahi ope-taua na Whanga-nui kei te haere mai. Tae mai nei ki Rangi-tikei, rokohina mai te ariki o te taniwha nei, ara, a Tu-ariki; patua ana e Whanga-nui, ka mate, mauria ana ki Whanga-nui tao ai. Katahi ka noho te taniwha nei, ka roa; kaore ano tona rangatira i tae atu. Katahi ka haere ki te hongihare i nga wāhi e haere ai tona ariki, heoi, kaore rawa i kite. Katahi ka tino mohio te taniwha nei, kua patua tona ariki e etahi iwi; kua tae hoki te tohu ki a ia. Katahi ka tangi te taniwha nei ki tona ariki.

Ka mutu, katahi ka haere te taniwha nei ki te kimi i te iwi nāna i patu tona ariki. Ka haere i roto i te awa o Rangi-tikei, ka puta ki te moana nui, i Raukawa, katahi ka hongī te ihu ki te tonga, kaore ! Ka hongī te ihu ki te hauauru ; kua rongo i te haunga o tona ariki. Katahi ka haere ; ka tae ki te ngutu o te awa o Whanga-nui, ka hongī ; kua rongo i te haunga o tona ariki, kua mohio na Whanga-nui i patu tona ariki. Katahi ka tomo ki roto ki taua awa ki te ngaki utu mo tona ariki. Ka noho ki Okupe, i te puaha o te awa o Whanga-nui, ka roa, ka kore pea he tangata e tae atu ana ki reira hei patunga māna, katahi ka haere i roto i te awa o Whanga-nui, ka ahu ki runga o taua awa, ka tae ki Te Paparoa—he taheke kei runga o te awa o Whanga-nui—ka noho ki reira taua taitahae nei. Kahore i tino roa ki reira, ka mahara, kei te kino ano tera nohoanga ōna, katahi ka hoki ano ki waho, ka tae ki Purua, ka noho ki reira, Heoi, katahi ka mahara katahi rawa tona kainga pai ko tenei.

Heoi, ka noho ka roa ; katahi ka hoe mai nga waka o runga o taua awa ki waho, ka tae ki te wahi i noho ai taua nanakia nei, katahi ka whawhatia mai ; pau katoa i a ia te kai—kakahu atu ; meremere atu ; parawai atu ; aha atu ; katoa nga mea a te Maori, haere katoa atu ki roto ki te kopu o taua nanakia nei—ka pena tonu tāna. Tera nga tangata kua mahue atu ki nga kainga te noho mai ra me te mahara, kua tae ki te wahi i haere atu ai. Kaore ! kua pau te kai e taua nanakia. Pena tonu ; ka haere o tena hapu, ka pau ano i taua nanakia nei te kai.

Heoi, ka whakaaro nga tangata o nga hapu i haere ra, ara, nga mea i mahue atu ki nga kainga, kia haere ratou ki te whai ; akuanei pea kua patua e etahi iwi ke atu. Katahi ka utaina nga waka, ka hoe ; he nui nga waka, akuanei, ko etahi o nga waka ki mua, ko etahi ki muri ano e hoe atu ana. Akuanei ka tata nga waka o mua ki te wāhi i noho ai te nanakia ra, katahi taua taniwha ka whakatika mai ano he tohora e pautu ana i te moana ; te ngaru ano he ngaru moana. Heoi ano, kua kite atu nga waka o muri, ka hoe era waka ki uta, kua mohio atu he taniwha, ka oma atu nga tangata ki runga i nga maunga, ka whakarerea atu nga waka. Ko nga waka i mua ra, mate katoa nga tangata o runga. Heoi, katahi ka mohiotia koia nei ano e patu nei i nga ope tuatahi e ngaro nei.

Katahi ka haere atu te hunga i oma ra, ki uta, ki te korero atu ki nga kainga katoa o runga o taua awa kia kua rawa he tangata e hoe i roto i taua awa, me whakarere te noho i nga kainga e tu tata ana ki te awa o Whanga-nui, o Manga-nui-te-ao, o Tānga-rakau, o Ongarue ; me haere nga tangata ki nga wāhi e kore ai taua nanakia e tae atu, ara, ki Muri-motu me etahi atu wāhi. Heoi ano ; ka mahue ake te noho i roto i te awa o Whanganui.

Katahi ka kimi ritenga taua iwi, me pehea ra e mate ai taua taniwha nei i a ratou. Katahi ka mea atu a Tamāhua-rererangi ki a ratou, "Kotahi te tangata i rongo i a au; he toa taua tangata ki te patu taniwha. Ko Ao-kehu te ingoa, tona kainga ko Wai-totara, tona pa ko Puke-rewa." Katahi ka mea mai te iwi, "Me haere koe, ki te tiki i taua tangata i a Ao-kehu—mehemea e kore e taea e ia te haere mai ki te patu i taua taniwha"—ara, i a Tutae-poroporo. Ka mea atu a Tamāhua, "E pai ana!"

Katahi ka haere atu te tangata ra ki Wai-totara, kua tae. Kaore! kua rongo katoa nga tangata o Nga-Rauru, o Ngati-Ruanui, o Taranaki, ki taua nanakia, ki a Tutae-poroporo. Heoi, katahi a Tamāhua ka ki atu ki a Ao-kehu. "I haere mai ahau ki a koe. Tena oti a Te Ati-Hau, kua mate i tetahi taniwha, kei roto i te awa o Whanga-nui e noho ana. Kua mahue nga kainga tuturu, kua haere noa atu nga tangata ki nga wāhi e kore ai e taea e taua nanakia nei." Katahi ka mea atu a Ao-kehu. "Ae! Kua rongo atu matou," Kua mohio tonu hoki a Ao-kehu i haere atu a Tamāhua-rererangi ki te tiki atu i a ia hei patu i taua taniwha. Ko Tamāhua, he hunaonga ki a Ao-kehu, i moe i te tuahine o Kauika, i a Raka-takapo; hei mokopuna ki a Ao-kehu a Raka-takapo. No Whanga-nui a Tamāhua, no Wai-totara a Raka-takapo. Heoti; katahi ka ki atu a Ao-kehu ki a Tamāhua, "Maatu! Hei apopo au tae atu ai. Engari e tae koe; kausa e takahia te taha o te awa o Whanga-nui." Heoi, ka hoki a Tamāhua.

I muri i a Tamāhua, katahi ka karanga atu a Ao-kehu ki tona iwi, kausa hei tuku kia marama e haere ana. Heoi, ano; ka moe. Kaore ano i haehae te ata ka whakatika te iwi o Ao-kehu ra, ka haere; tona hokowhitu. Ka mauria e Ao-kehu ona rakau—a "Tai-timu," a "Tai-paroa." Ko aua rakau, he mira-tuatini. Katahi ka haere a Ao-kehu me tona taua, ka tae ki Whanga-nui, ara, ki Totara-puku; rokohanga atu i reira a Tamāhua e noho ana me tona iwi. Katahi ka mea atu a Ao-kehu, "Kei whea rawa te wāhi i noho ai te nanakia nei?" Ka whakahokia e te tiaki-whenua, "Kaore i mamao. Ka kite koe i te hiwi ra, ko Taumaha-aute, tera kei raro iho." Ka mea atu a Ao-kehu ki tona iwi, "Tikina tapahia mai he rakau, kia rite ki a au te roa, ka tarai hei waka mōku, ka mahia ano he taupoki." Katahi ka mea mai te hunga-whenua, "Taihoa ra e mahi, kia maao mai he kai." Ka ki atu a Ao-kehu, "Ka taria marire e kai, kia mate ra ano i a au tera nanakia ka mahi ai he kai."

Heoi ano; kaore i roa te mahinga i te waka kua oti, me te taupoki; houhou rawa i nga kohao hei hereherenga. Ka oti, katahi ka karanga atu a Ao-kehu ki te iwi katoa, "Ki te tuku ahau e koutou ki te wai kia tere haere, me haere koutou ma runga i nga hiwi titiro iho ai ki au, mo te pau atu ahau ki roto ki te puku kopu o Tutae-poroporo.

Engari taku kupu ki a koutou, kia pena ake nga niho o "Tai-timu" raua ko "Tai-paroa" e ngau ana ki runga ki ōna tuatara, a, e maroke ōna kauae ki uta." Heoi nga kupu a Ao-kehu katahi ka tango mai i ōna rakau, i a "Tai-timu" raua ko "Tai-paroa" ka kuhu ki roto ki tona waka, katahi ka hereherea ki nga kohao i werowerohia. Ka oti, ka pania ki te uku a wāho, kei puta atu te wai ki aia. Ka oti, ka pai hoki, katahi ka tukua ki te wai; ka tere te waka o taua maia nei, ara, a Ao-kehu; ka haere hoki te iwi katoa ma runga i nga hiwi titiro haere ai. Na wai a ka tata te waka ra, ki te nohoanga o tera nanakia. Ehara! kua rongo te taniwha i te kakara o tona kai, katahi ka whawhatia mai; horomia atu ana te tangata ra me tona waka ki roto i te kopu o taua taniwha. Kua kite iho hoki nga tangata i haere ra ma uta i te whawhatanga mai a taua taniwha. Heoi, ka hoki te nanakia nei ki tona nohoanga; no te mohiotanga o te tangata ra kua tae te taniwha ra ki te rua, katahi ano ka timata te tangata ra ki te karakia i nga karakia patu taniwha, whakamaia hoki kia rewa te taniwha ki runga o te wai, kia pae hoki ki uta. Ko te karakia tenei, ara, ko te karakia whakamoemoe i te taniwha:—

Ko au! ko au! ko Tu! he ariki!
 Ko au! ko Tu!
 Ko tou ariki i runga nei,
 Ka whanatu au ki te kura-winiwini i raro nei,
 Ki te kura-wanawana i raro nei,
 Ki te pipipi i raro nei,
 Ki te potipoti i raro nei,
 Ko koe, koia rukuhia, koia whaia,
 Ki te tuapapa o tou whare,
 I tu ai to iho,
 I tu ai to tira,
 I tu ai to mauri,
 I herea ai to kaha ki a au,
 Ki a Rangi-nui e tu nei,
 Whakaruhi! whakamoemoe!
 O—oi!
 Ko au, ka whanatu ki o tuatara,
 E riri mai na, e nguha mai na,
 Titia! titia, te pou pou o to manawa,
 Titia te pou o to iho,
 I tu ai koe, i rere ai koe,
 Ka titia ou niho, e tetea mai na,
 Ou tuatara e riri mai na,
 Ka moe! ka ruhi ē!

Ehāra! katahi ka karakiatia te karakia hapai, ara, whakarewa ki runga; koia tenei —

Te tuapapa i raro nei, maiangi ake,
 Kia au te toka i raro nei,
 Maiangi ake ki runga nei,
 Kia au ki to kauhou i tu ai koe

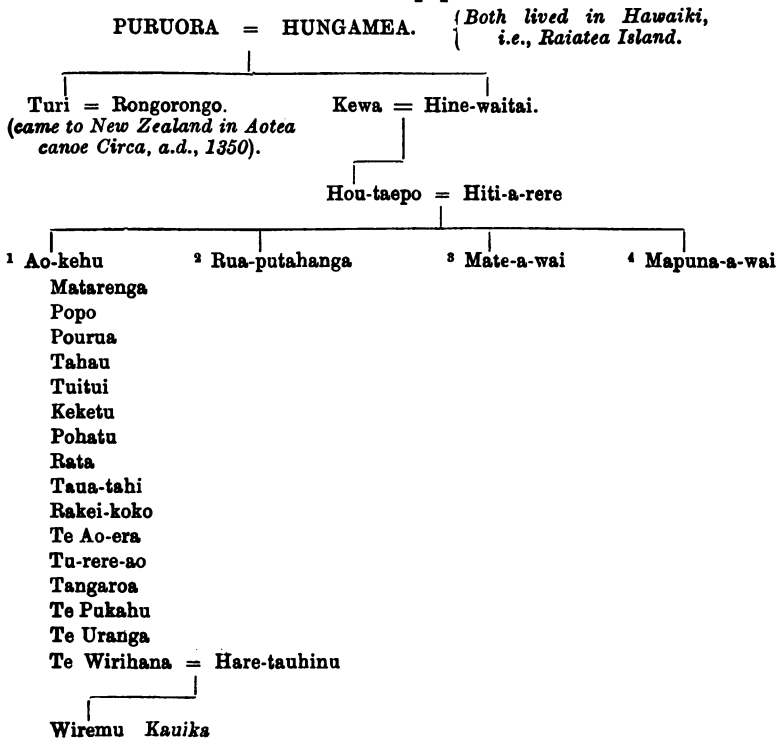
I rere ai koe ki te mokopu-o-rangi,
 Ko koe, koia, hikitia,
 Ko koe, koia hapainga
 Tangi te to, hiki! ē! ē!

Ehāra! Rewa ana te taniwha nei ki runga, ka pae ki te kongutu awa o te awa o Purua. Heoi, katahi ka tapatapahia mai e nga tangata ra nga herehere o te waka o te maia ra, ka puta mai ki wāho i roto mai i te kopu o te taniwha ra. Heoi ano; katahi ka tapahia ake te puku ki ōna maripi, ara, ki "Tai-timu," ki "Tai-paroa."

Heoi ano: Ka kite iho nga tangata i runga i te pa, ara, i Tau-maha-aute, katahi ka haere katoa ki te kotikoti i to ratou ito; rokohina te tangata, te wahine, te tamariki, i roto i te kopu o te taniwha ra. Heoi ano; ka mauria nga tupapaku ki roto ki te pa i Taumaha-aute tanu ai. Ko te taniwha ra, tapatapahia hei kai ma nga manu o te rangi me nga ika o te moana.

Heoi ano: Ko nga korero o te patunga i tenei taniwha; ka koa hoki te iwi o Whanga-nui ka mate a Tutae-poroporo; katahi ano ka hoki a Whanga-nui, ki to ratou awa, ara, a Whanga-nui, me o ratou kainga.

Na! Ko Ao-kehu; na te teina o Turi, na Kewa; ka haere mai nei i runga i to raua waka, ara, i "Aotea," haere mai nei i Hawaiki a noho ana raua i Patea. Ko te whakapapa tenei o Ao-Kehu:—



TUTAE-POROPORO,
THE TANIWHA SLAIN BY AO-KEHU AT WHANGA-NUI,
NEW ZEALAND.

BY WIREMU KAUIKA, TRANSLATED BY S. PERCY SMITH.

THIS *taniwha*, Tutae-poroporo, was originally a fish of the sea, that is, a shark. The following is the reason it became a *taniwha*: At one time a man of the Ngati-Apa tribe, whose name was Tu-ariki, and who dwelt at Rangi-tikei, went on a visit to Whakatu (Nelson). Whilst there he and others of that place went to sea to fish. A shark took the hook of that man; but it was not a large one, indeed quite a small and young one. The man did not kill it, but decided to make a pet of it.

After a time Tu-ariki returned to his own home at Rangi-tikei, bringing back with him his pet. The man placed his pet in a spring of water called Tutae-nui, and made proper sides to it and properly completed it. He then commenced his *karakais* to turn his pet into a *taniwha*. This ended, he waited a long time, whilst the *taniwha* grew, and it eventually became as large as a whale, and used to go down the Tutae-nui stream to the Rangi-tikei river, and then back to the spring, which had become large. Its master used to visit it every day to see how it was getting on and to feed it, as well as to recite his *karakias* over it, such as were used for *taniwhas*. At last the *taniwha* fully understood, and had become of great size.

About this time there came into the Rangi-tikei district a war party of Whanganui, which found the master of the *taniwha*, i.e., Tu-ariki, whom they killed, and carried his body back to Whanganui to cook it. The *taniwha* waited a long time but his master never came (as usual). It then started off by the ways its master used to frequent, trying to scent him; but he discovered nothing of him. He then felt quite sure that his master had been killed by strange people, because a sign had come to him; and then the *taniwha* lamented his master.

After this had ended, the *taniwha* started in search of the people who had killed his master. He went down the Rangi-tikei river to the ocean, at Rau-kawa (Cook's Straits) and there sniffed the winds of the south—with no result. He then sniffed the winds of the west,

and recognised the scent of his master. So he started off; he came to the mouth of the Whanganui and again sniffed, and the scent of his master was stronger. He now entered the river in order to avenge his master. He remained at Okupe, at the mouth of the river, for a long time, but because probably there was no one there to kill, he went up the Whanganui river, right up to Te Paparoa, which is a rapid in the upper part of the river, and there the monster stayed. But he had not been there long when he came to the conclusion it was not a suitable place, so he came back again as far as Purua (just opposite the town of Whanganui, under the Shakespeare Cliff) and there found an excellent place (for his purpose),

He remained there for some time, until some canoes from up the river came paddling down, right to the place where the monster was, who seized them and swallowed them—with their clothes, *meremeres*, fine mats, and all—all such as a Maori possesses—all went into the stomach of the monster. This was his constant custom. The people of the villages inland whence the victims had come, thought their friends had long arrived at the place they were bound for. But not so; they had been eaten by the monster. Thus it continued; other tribes came down, they were all eaten by the monster.

After a time the people who had remained behind at the villages came to the conclusion to go in search of their friends (as no news came of them), for perchance they might have been killed by some other tribe. So they loaded their canoes and started, a great number of them. They arranged that some canoes should go on ahead, the others following at a distance behind. As the first canoes drew near to the place where the monster dwelt, he arose like a great whale spouting in the ocean, making waves like those of the sea. When those behind saw all this they paddled ashore, for they now knew that it was a *taniwha* (who consumed their friends), and fled to the mountains, abandoning their canoes. Those who had been in the advance party were all killed and eaten. Thus it became known to all who it was who killed their friends.

The people who had fled went away inland to inform all the villages on the river, and tell them not to allow any one to paddle on the rivers of Whanganui, Manga-nui-te-ao, Tānga-rakau, or Ongarue; but that all should remove to places inaccessible to the monster; that is, to Muri-motu and other places. And thus it came to pass, occupation of the Whanganui river ceased (for a time).

The people now bethought themselves as to how they could compass the death of the *taniwha*. Tamāhua said to them, "I have heard of a man who is a great warrior and skilled in slaying *taniwhas*. His name is Ao-kehu, of Wai-totara, and his *pa* is Puke-rewa." The tribe

replied, "You must go and fetch that man Ao-kehu; perchance he will come and slay the *taniwha* for us," that is, Tutae-poroporo; and Tamāhua replied, "It is well!"

So the man proceeded to Wai-totara, and on his arrival, Behold! all the people of the Nga-Rauru, of the Ngati-Ruanui and of the Taranaki tribes had already heard of the monster Tutae-poroporo. Tamāhua now said to Ao-kehu, "I have come to you because all of Ati-Hau have been consumed by a *taniwha* that dwells in the Whanganui river. The homes are left, and everyone is scattered to places where the *taniwha* cannot get." In reply Ao-kehu said, "Yes! we have heard." Indeed Ao-kehu had easily divined the object of Tamāhua-rererangi's visit—that he came to fetch him to slay the *taniwha*. Now, Tamāhua was a son-in-law to Ao-kehu; he had married the daughter of Kauika, named Raka-takapo, who was a grand-daughter to Ao-kehu (according to Maori custom), Tamāhua was of Whanganui, Raka-takapo of Wai-totara. So Ao-kehu said to Tamāhua, "Arise and go! To-morrow will I be there. But when you get back, do not tread on the banks of Whanganui." Then Tamāhua returned.

After Tamāhua's departure, Ao-kehu called his people together and told them not to let it get light in the morning before they started; and then they slept. Before the first streaks of dawn the people started, seventy in number. Ao-kehu took with him his two weapons named "Tai-timu" and "Tai-paroa," which were *mira-tuatini*.* They travelled on till they came to the Whanganui river, at Totara-puku (close to the Ara-moho Railway Station), where they found Tamāhua and his people waiting. Ao-kehu then asked, "Where is the place where this monster dwells?" The people of the place replied, "It is not far off; you see the ridge there—Taumaha-aute? (on top of Shakespeare's Cliff). It is just below." Turning to his people, Ao-kehu said, "Cut and fetch a log, as long as I am, and dub it out as a box for me, and make a lid to it." The people of the place urged, "Presently to work! after some food has been cooked." But Ao-kehu replied, "We will wait and eat after I have slain that monster there."

It was not a great while before the box was completed, together with its lid, and holes bored to tie it on. And when this was done, Ao-kehu said to all the people, "When you have set me afloat, all of you go to the ridge and look on whilst I am swallowed into the belly of Tutae-poroporo. But my word to you is, it will be but a moment after "Tai-timu" and "Tai-paroa" begin to bite his spines, that his bones will be drying ashore." Such were the words of Ao-kehu, and

* A kind of saw, with teeth of the shark inserted along both edges. Used formerly in cutting up human joints for the oven.

taking up his weapons he got into his box ; the lid was tied on, and the holes plastered with plastic clay, so the water might not get in. On completion, the box of the warrior was launched on the water, whilst the people ascended the ridge to look on. After a time the box drifted down to the lair of the *taniwha*. And then ! he recognised the sweet scent of his food ; he seized the box and swallowed both it and the man, which descended to the depths of his stomach. Those who had gone inland to look on saw the *taniwha* swallow the box. The monster now retired to his lair ; and so soon as the man knew he had got there, he commenced his powerful *karakia*, such as are used in slaying *taniwhas*, and to cause them to rise to the surface so they may drift ashore. This is the *karakia*, that is, the spell to cause a deep sleep :—

'Tis I ! 'Tis I ! 'Tis Tu ! a lord !
 'Tis I ! 'Tis Tu !
 Thy lord above here,
 Advancing to the fearsome demon below there,
 To the awesome demon below there,
 To the maelstrom below there,
 To the stinging power below there,
 'Tis thou, that is dived for, that is followed,
 To the foundation of thy dwelling,
 Where rests thy seat of strength,
 Where stand thy spines,
 Where rests thy very soul,
 (In vain) thou bindest me with thy powers,
 By the great heavens that stand above,
 Be exhausted ! Be overcome with sleep !
 O—oi !
 'Tis I that advancest to thy spiney back,
 That in anger appears, that rages there,
 Transfix ! transfix the support of thy heart,
 Transfix ! the pillar of thy strength,
 That supports thy life and generates thy actions.
 Transfixed be thy teeth, that gnash and grind,
 Thy spiney back with rage appearing,
 Sleep then ! Be exhausted ! O !

This ended, the lifting-spell to cause the monster to rise to the surface was repeated. Thus :—

The solid foundations below there ; rise up !
 Firm as the rock below is,
 It shall rise up here above.
 Firm as is the supernatural power thou trustest in,
 Thou shalt rise to the daylight surface,
 'Tis thou that is upraised !
 'Tis thou that is uplifted !
 Resounds the hauling ! Be lifted ! O ! O !

Behold ! the monster floated on the surface, and drifted ashore at the mouth of the Purua stream. Now the men came down and cut the lashings of the box, and forth came the warrior from the stomach of the *taniwha*. Then he proceeded to cut open the belly with his knives (*maripi*), that is, with "Tai-timu" and "Tai-paroa." Now, when the people dwelling in Taumaha-aute *pa* saw this, they descended to help in cutting up the object of their revenge (*ito=uto*), and there was found within the monster, bodies of men, women and children. These were carried to the *pa* at Taumaha-aute and there buried. The *taniwha* was cut up and left as food for the birds of the air and the fish of the sea.

Enough ! Such is the story of the slaying of this *taniwha*. Glad indeed were the Whanganui people at the death of Tutae-poroporo, for they were able again to occupy their river and their homes.

Now, as to Ao-kehu, he was a descendant of Turis' younger brother Kewa, who both came here in their canoe, the "Aotea," from Hawaiki, and settled at Patea. This is genealogical descent from him to the present day. (See the original).

NOTE :—Both Turi and Kewa, besides many others, arrived in New Zealand from Raiātea, Society Islands, circa 1350. If we may believe the legend, the Whanganui valley was thickly populated even in those times, thus affording additional evidence of the presence of people here long before the great *heke* of 1350.—Translator.



ON THE SURVIVALS OF ANCIENT CUSTOMS IN OCEANIA.

BY JOSHUA RUTLAND.

DURING the Sultan of Johore's recent visit to Australia, a description of His Majesty's golden teeth, set with brilliants, went the round of our newspapers. For the truth of this description I am unable to vouch, but it was probably, in the main, correct, the wearing of golden teeth or of golden tooth covers being of very ancient Oriental custom.

Marco Polo, the celebrated Venetian traveller, who returned to Europe in 1295, after 25 years' absence in China and other parts of the far East, has left the following description of the province of Kardandan, the modern Yun-nan :—

“ Proceeding five days' journey in a westerly direction from Karazan, you enter the province of Kardandan, belonging to the Dominion of the Grand Khan, and of which the principal city is named Vochang.

The currency of this country is gold by weight, and also the porcelain shells. An ounce of gold is exchanged for five ounces of silver, and a saggio of gold for five saggi of silver, there being no silver mines in this country, but much gold, and consequently the merchants who import silver obtain a large profit.

Both the men and the women of this province have the custom of covering their teeth with thin plates of gold, which are fitted with great nicety to the shape of the teeth, and remain on them continually. The men also form dark stripes or bands round their arms and legs by puncturing them in the following manner: They have five needles joined together, which they press into the flesh until the blood is drawn, and they then rub the punctures with a black colouring matter, which leaves an indelible mark. To bear these dark stripes is considered as an ornamental and honourable distinction.

When the natives have transactions of business with each other, which require them to execute any obligation for the amount of a debt or credit, their chief takes a square piece of wood and divides it in two. Notches are then cut on it, denoting the sum in question, and each party receives one of the corresponding pieces, as is practised in respect to our tallies. Upon the expiration of the term, and payment made by the debtor, the creditor delivers up his counterpart and both remain satisfied."

Marsden, in his history of Sumatra, first published 1788, after commenting on the natives filing and staining teeth, says:—The great men sometimes set theirs in gold, by chasing, with a plate of that metal, the under row; and this ornament, contrasted with the black dye, has, by lamp or candle light, a very splendid effect. It is sometimes indented to the shape of the teeth, but more usually quite plain. They do not remove it either to eat or sleep.

From relics found in various parts of Europe, archæologists have concluded that during the stone period the inhabitants of the region tattooed, but it is evident, from the way that Marco Polo speaks of the tattooing, which he found in vogue amongst the most civilised peoples of Asia, that the custom had died out in Asia before the thirteenth century.

Speaking of the Kangigu province, probably Cachar, he tells us both men and women have their bodies punctured all over, in figures of beasts and birds, and there are among them practitioners, whose sole employment it is to trace out these ornaments with the point of a needle, upon the hands, the legs and the breasts. When a black colouring stuff has been rubbed over these punctures, it is impossible, either by water or otherwise to efface the marks. The man or woman who exhibits the greatest profusion of these figures is esteemed the most handsome.

Of the various kinds of mutilation practised by rude people to make themselves attractive, tattooing affords the greatest scope for artistic display. This probably accounts for its survival amongst people so far advanced in the art of dress as the Chinese and Japanese. That it was considered an emblem of rank, is shown by the following passage in the journal of Ralph Fitch, who visited Burma 1586: "The Bramas, which be of the king's country (for the king is a Brama) have their legs or bellies, or some part of their body, as they thinke good themselves, made black with certaine things which they have. They use to pricke the skinne, and to put on it a kinde of anile, or blacking, which doth continue alwayes. And this is counted an honour among them, but none may have it but the Bramas which are of the king's kindred. These people weare no beards. They pull

out the haire on their faces with little pinsons made for the purpose. Some of them will let 16 or 20 haire grow together, some in one place of his face and some in another and pulleth out all the rest, for he carieth his pinsons alwayes with him to pull the haire out as soone as they appeare. If they see a man with a beard they wonder at him. They have their teeth blacked, both men and women, for they say a dogge hath his teeth white, therefore they will blacke theirs."

Sir Joseph Banks has left the following interesting account of the New Zealand Maori, at the time of Cook's first visit:—"Both sexes stain themselves in the same manner with the colour of black, and somewhat in the same way as the South Sea Islanders, introducing it under the skin by a sharp instrument furnished with many teeth. The men carry this custom to much greater length; the women are generally content with having their lips blacked, but sometimes have little patches of black on different parts of the body. The man, to the contrary, seems to add to the quantity every year of his life, so that some of the elders were almost covered with it. Their faces are the most remarkable. On them, by some art unknown to me, they dig furrows a line deep at least, and as broad, the edges of which are often again indented and absolutely black. This may be done to make them look frightful in war; indeed, it has the effect of making them most enormously ugly, the old ones especially, whose faces are entirely covered with it. The young, again, often have a small patch on one cheek or over one eye, and those under a certain age (maybe twenty-five or twenty-six) have no more than their lips black. Yet, ugly as this certainly looks, it is impossible to avoid admiring the extreme elegance and justness of the figures traced, which on the face are always different spirals, and upon the body generally different figures, resembling somewhat the foliages of old chasing upon gold and silver. All these are finished with a masterly taste and execution, for of a hundred which at first sight would be judged to be exactly the same, no two, on close examination, prove alike, nor do I remember ever to have seen any two alike. Their wild imagination scorns to copy, as appears in almost all their works. In different parts of the coast they varied very much in the quantity and parts of the body on which this *amoca*, as they call it, was placed, but they generally agreed in having the spirals upon the face. I have generally observed that the more populous a country, the greater was the quantity of *amoca* used. Possibly in populous countries the emulation of bearing pain with fortitude may be carried to greater lengths than where there are fewer people, and consequently fewer examples to encourage. The buttocks, which in the islands were the principal seat of this ornament, in general here escape untouched; in one place only we saw the contrary."

Tattooing is still practised by many Oriental people, but nowhere do we find it carried to the length described by Marco Polo, excepting in Polynesia, and even there the custom is fast disappearing owing to European influences.

Westermarch, in his "History of Human Marriage," shows how dress evolves from ornament, the rudest type of ornaments being mutilations such as tattooing, cicatrising, circumcision, &c., and that the object of these mutilations was to provoke sexual desires,

Some years ago I showed a Croiselles Maori Ling Roth's edition of "Crozet's Voyage to Tasmania and New Zealand," in which there is a good illustration of a Maori profusely tattooed on the thighs and lower part of the back. After carefully examining this picture my friend remarked, "I wouldn't like to have my face tattooed; but I would give a pound—yes, I would give two or three pounds—to be tattooed like that fellow." Perceiving he was really in earnest, I enquired the reason why, and was told, "The women do like to see a chap tattooed that way." He then went on to tell me that natives of the North Island tattooed like the illustration, occasionally visited the Croiselles, and excited the admiration of the women.

We can thus see that amongst the natives of the Pacific tattooing still produces the effect for which it was intended.

The pieces of wood used by the people of Yun-nan in Marco Polo's time for registering bargains are still in vogue amongst the natives of New Guinea. Rev. James Chalmers, in a very graphic account of a trading voyage along the coast, says:—"One of the *lakatois* has begun disposing of cargo. All the pottery belonging to a man is arranged on the beach, and into each two small pieces of wood are put, and when finished the owner returns along the row, takes one piece out, and the purchaser follows, taking the other. Both parties tie the tokens carefully up and put them away in a safe place, then the purchaser's family and friends come and carry away the pottery. When the time arrives for the *lakatoi* to return, the purchaser and all his friends set to work to get the sago required—one bundle of sago for each piece of wood. When the sago is finished he sends for the Motuan, who enters the sago-house with his parcel, counts the tokens, and then counts the sago, and if all is right he then carries them on board; if one or more bundles are short, there is a lively disturbance."

This primitive way of trading reminds us of the ancient commerce thus described by Herodotus:—"The Carthaginians further say that, beyond the pillars of Hercules, there is a region of Libya and men who inhabit it. When they arrive among these people and have unloaded their merchandise, they set it in order on the shore, go on board their ships and make a great smoke; that the inhabitants, seeing

the smoke, came down to the sea and then deposit gold in exchange for the merchandise, and withdraw to some distance from the merchandise; that the Carthaginians then, going ashore, examine the gold, and if the quantity seems sufficient for the merchandise they take it up and sail away; but if it is not sufficient they go on board their ships again and wait. The natives then approach and deposit more gold, until they have satisfied them. Neither party ever wrongs the other, for they do not touch the gold before it is made adequate to the value of the merchandise, nor do the natives touch the merchandise before the other party has taken the gold."



MAORI AND EGYPTIAN TATTOOING.

THROUGH the kindness of the "Otago Witness," we are enabled to reproduce some pictures showing the similarity of the tattoo marks in some women of Assouan, Upper Egypt, and the ordinary *kauae* or chin tattooing of Maori women. Figures 1, 2, and 3, are Egyptians, figure 4 is a Maori woman, though her face, generally, is scarcely the Maori type.

We also reproduce from the same source a picture of a tattooed Maori head in Major-General Robley's celebrated collection, which is an excellent specimen of the fully tattooed face (*moko-tukupu*) as it was to be seen 50 years ago, but now disappeared for ever. The "Otago Witness" adds:—

The London correspondent of the New Zealand Times says:—"General Robley, the well-known authority upon Maori art, sends me a sketch that he made of the Assouan villagers now on view themselves at Earl's Court. The sketch shows that the married women of this tribe far up the Nile are tattooed in a manner remarkably similar to that in which the Maori women used to be tattooed, namely on the lips and chin, and now and again on the forehead. I am trying to persuade General Robley to follow up this clue, and at the same time to take in hand a comparative study of the tattooing of all primitive races. The results might probably be surprising in the dominion of ethnography. I forgot to mention that General Robley has found on some of the earlier Egyptian mummies certain ornamental designs which have hitherto been considered purely Egyptian, but he finds that they are identical with some of the most ancient Maori patterns."

We hope General Robley will take the hint given above and follow this out, as it will probably throw light on the question of the intercourse between the ancient Polynesians and the Egyptians in ages long past, which, from other things seems probable—not, we think, that there is an ethnic connection between the two races, but that there has been intercourse and mutual interchange of customs and ideas, probably when the Polynesians occupied India.





J.M. Donald 1903
AFTER SKETCH
By MAJOR GENERAL ROBLEY



POLYNESIAN ORIGINS.

BY EDWARD TREGEAR.

To those who know the almost infinite difficulties of the subject, it appears bold, even to temerity, to endeavour to throw light on the subject of "The Whence of the Maori." After studying the question for years, I by no means approach any discussion of it with the light-hearted confidence of absolute ignorance. I know some of the immense difficulties, the absence of written records or of monumental inscriptions, the maze of baffling and imperfect traditions, the delusions of linguistics, the fallacies of customs-comparisons, the phantoms of genealogy; or, to speak more precisely, I have found what numerous traps are to be found in such valuable aids to knowledge as tradition, customs, language and genealogy. I have, however, also learnt that the most imperfectly equipped of enquirers will, if in earnest and devoted to his subject, help on the enquiry, if only by inducing those who know better to enter the arena in refutation, and that the real foe of knowledge is "the Superior Person" of merciless criticism, who is without sympathy for the enquirer stumbling in darkness towards the light. This is said in diffident excuse for writing on a subject which will probably engage the attention of students centuries hence, students a million times better equipped than we are, but without our opportunities for enquiry among the survivors of the Polynesian people themselves.

In this paper the subject of the absolute "cradle-land" of the Polynesian (Maori) people will not be approached. This land of ultimate origin was probably in South-Central Asia, but it may have been in Lithuania, or by the shores of the Caspian Sea; wherever it "may have been" it was, as I believe, in that locality wherein those branches of the Indo-European family now occupying North-Western Europe had their birth. The above statement must remain a mere assertion, a personal impression, so far as this paper is concerned. My present effort will be made in an endeavour to get light as to certain intermediate dwelling places, known as Hawaiki, Havaii, Avaiki, &c., between the *vagina gentium* and those other local South Sea Hawaiki which Mr. S. Percy Smith is so exhaustively investigating.

In Mr. Smith's book "*Hawaiki*" (First edition—p. 48) occurs the following passage, which I have taken as the text for this paper:—

"Avaiki te Varinga, or Atia te Varinga, was the country in which Polynesian mankind originated. . . (p. 72). Atia was a country in which the rice grew, and the name Atia te Varinga may be translated 'Atia-the-be-riced,' or where plenty of it grew."

Guided by this expression of opinion I have endeavoured to ascertain the ground of its probability, and have arrived at the following conclusions:—

(1) That Hava (Hawaiki), Vari (Varinga), and Atia were names of cultivated grain.

(2) That the grain-names probably passed into names of cultivations, and were remembered as localities.

Before attempting to trace the names of Hawaiki, Vari, and Atia through their different disguises, and to the extremities of their apparently fantastic developments, it may be as well to note the persistence among the Maoris of the idea that Hawaiki was a wonderfully prolific and food-producing country. A common exclamation in New Zealand, when an old native saw a very flourishing crop, was, "Ah, this is Hawaiki-food; or, This is Hawaiki the prolific" (*E, ko Hawaiki kai tenei*), and there is an old adage, "Hawaiki was the country where food grew wild" (or profusely, without trouble) *Ko Hawaiki te whenua e tupu noa mai te kai*. Another saying is "Hawaiki is the land where the sweet-potato grows spontaneously among the fern." *Hawaiki te whenua e tupu noa mai te kumara i roto i te rarauhe*. I may remark here that in the South Seas, among the many Avaiki or Savaii, there is no place wherein the *kumara* grows without cultivation, so the reference must be to some other localities than these.

Finding among the Maori poetry gathered by Sir George Grey (p. 81) a similar allusion to the abundance of food in Hawaiki, I referred the passage to Mr. Smith for an independent translation. The passage is as follows:—

*Ka toi au ki Hawaiki
Ki te kai ra, i rari noa mai,
Te raweketia e te ringaringa.*

Mr. Smith translates thus:—

I will away to Hawaiki
To the food there plentifully given,
Not touched (produced) by hand.*

*Mr. Smith has kindly added the following notes—

(a) *Toi*, only used in old traditions, and implies distance, almost unattainable. "*E tama aku, i puta mai ra koe i te toi ki Hawaiki.*" "My child, thou comest forth from the distant (ancestors of) Hawaiki." (Old song.)

(b) *Rari*, plentiful; that grows spontaneously. It is not applied to cultivated food, but to wild kinds. This is the meaning given by the Urewera; *he huhua noa mai no te kai, he makuru noa mai, tona tikanga*. *Makuru*, to fall off when ripe, is only used for fruits.

(c) *Ki te kai ra*. The food well known to be there (as emphasized by *ra*.)

PART I.
PHILOLOGICAL.

IN the course of this enquiry I must present to the reader long lists of words very tiring for anyone but a student of language to peruse. I wish however to make this first part of the subject as exhaustive as the limited means at the disposal of an Antipodean writer can effect, and to leave no collateral branch untouched. To do this there must, I fear, be repetition, with constant return to the main line of research, and although I have made every effort to try to handle the mass of material with lucidity of result, it cannot even be approached without hard work for the reader as well as the writer.

The narrower scholars among the ranks of philologists will certainly condemn me at the outset for daring to compare words in inflected with those in agglutinative or monosyllabic languages. My answer is that I am dealing with absolutely prehistoric words, or roots of words, having their origin in ages so remote that in common honesty they can no more be claimed as Aryan than as Semitic or Turanian. Of such words, though not used in my argument, *Mata*, the eye or face, is an example. In different forms it is common to Polynesia, Melanesia, Micronesia, Malaysia, Japan, India, Persia, and Arabia. *Mate*, sick or dead, is another such a word, used all over Oceania, and still extant in England as *Matt* the dead surface of silver or of a photograph, in opposition to a bright or polished (living) surface, as it also is when we say "Check-mate!" "the Sheikh is dead!" from the Persian, but originally probably Arabic.

Of such words I shall here confine myself to three, viz., *ava*, *bara*, and *vari*. Their common root is *FA*, and they all will be proved to mean grain, water, mud.

The root *FA* became vulgarised in its posterity-words, as in almost all cases was sure to happen, that is, it gathered the *R* sound as a final. I say, vulgarised, because we at once recognise it as such when we hear the final *a* in the Cockney and other degraded forms of pronunciation. *Maria* becomes *Mariar*, *Eliza* is *Elizer*, etc., and it is this deteriorating effect which made the *FA* (*fah*) sound into *FAR*.

I need hardly say to anyone acquainted with consonantal changes in dialects that with more or less regularity of variation, *F* *V* *B* and *P* are substituted one for the other. In Polynesian, the Maori *papa* a board, is the Tongan *baba*, a board; the Tahitian *pure*, worship, is the Fijian *bure*, a temple; the Samoan *pula*, to shine, is Fijian *vulavula*, white. In English, purple, fury, and bride are all on the same root, *BUR*; fan (Latin *vannus*) and wind on the root *WA*. Whether the digamma sound be properly *F* or *V*, it certainly varies, perhaps through *PH*, into *P* and *B*—if not in classical writings, then in the practical uses of diverse races of men, world-scattered, but still wielding the verbal stone-axes of their ancestors.

HAWA

(On the root *FA* or *VA*, as *va*, *rava*, *ava*, *awa*, *fafa*, *vaha*, etc.)

In Sanscrit *yava* means barley, but in the Vedas it was applied not only to barley but to wheat and to grain in general, as *yavana* also was to wheat.* That the word *yava* or *java* had a much wider application than to barley, or even grain in general, may be adduced by a note of Professor Max Müller's, on Rig Veda,† in which he says, "Yava is explained by Sayana as grass, and Wilson's Dictionary gives it as meadow or pasture grass. Greek *ζέα* (*zea*) is likewise explained as barley or rye, fodder for horses (sec 1, 91, 18), *garah na yavaseshu*, "like cows in meadows."

Thus we find that *yava* in its compounds extended so widely as to include almost any cultivated crop. In that very pure Aryan dialect, the Lithuanian, *java* remained as corn, but the Zend (Ancient Persian) *yava*, fodder, and *yava*, barley, became the modern Persian *jav* (or *gar*) barley, while the Sanscrit *yava* was parent of the Hindustani *jau*, barley, so that the word became distinctive of a particular grain as time went on. The Lithuanians also had *javai*, wheat in general, the plural of *javas*, the grain of wheat; from this arose the name of their goddess Jawinne, who presided over cereals. With modern Persian *jav* and *gar* we have the Tirbai (Cabul) *zav*, but in the Ossete *yan* and *yev* it passes to millet. The Sanscrit *yava* for rice appears in *yavagu*, rice-gruel. The Japanese kept the word *awa* for millet, and *awa mochi*, bread made from rice and millet. The Canarese have *jave* and *javi* for barley, and *jave* also for broken or pounded rice offered to a sick person, but introduce the *S* sound in *save*, for millet (*panicum miliaceum*). The sibilant keeps its ground in the Burmese *saba*, rice, *sabaji*, a rice-basket—the latter is the equivalent of Polynesian Savaii or Hawaii. The Burmese form shows the point of transformation from the grain to the field in which the grain grew, so that we get the Malay Islands' words *sabah*, *sawah*, and *java*, for a wet rice field. Here also we meet the idea of "wetness" as well as "field," subjects which I shall pursue further on, but will return awhile to the "grain" section of the word *ava*. Before doing so the remark may be made that in the Malay change of *sava* or *hava* from "grain" to "rice-land" there is reason to suspect historical influences, for it was then that the *saba* or *sawa*, an irrigated field, became prefaced by *pari* or *padi* (i.e., paddy, rice in the grain), which shows that a new word has superseded *java*, for grain, and left *pari-sawah*, an irrigated rice field.

Pictet states that the Latin name for oats, *avena*, is on this root, and instances the Anc. Slav., *ovisu*, *ousa*; Polon., *owies*; Illyr., *ovas*;

*Pictet. Les Aryas Primitifs. III., 333.

†Rig Veda Sanhita. Vol. I., p. 71.

Lith., *awiza*; Lett., *ausas*, as examples, referring it to the Sanscrit root *AV*, to be loved or rejoice, whence *ava*, nourishment; *avas*, *avana*, satisfaction, rejoicing; and *avasa*, which is exactly the Russian *ovesu*, pasturage, victuals. To the same root belong the Persian *awa*, nourishment, and *aba*, bread—in Cabul *ave* and *au*. (I shall show further on that to refer to this class the Maori *au-au*, a basket of seed potatoes, is not so far-fetched as it may seem). If this assertion of Pictet's is true it will at once appear that originally *avena* was not oats, but any grain or food, and this bears out the contention that *ava* (*yava*, *java*, *sava*, *saba*, etc.) was not originally barley but "a cultivated crop," becoming later "grain," and then particular kinds of grain. The Teutonic name for oats also strengthens this idea, because "oat" Ang. Saxon, *ata*, *ate*, belongs to *etan*, the Gothic, *itan*, "to eat," and may have originally meant any comestible.

We will refer (under the part treating of *vari*, rice) to rye and farina. The name of wheat appears to have been given to that cereal as "the white" grain. (Pictet, l.c. 328.) Gothic, *hveits*, white, and *hvaiti*, *hvaiteis*, wheat; Ang. Saxon, *hviz*, and *hwaizi*, etc. It is not quite certain that the Gothic *hveits* answers directly to Sanscrit *cveta*, from the root *çvit*, to be white, for the latter requires a Gothic *th*, and a *d*, for the Anc. German. But by the *çvit* we find *çvid*, *çvind*, to be white. It may be noticed (for what it is worth) that beside the Greek *ζεά* (*zea*), which was once barley or millet, and is now maize, the Maori *tea*, "white," forms a curious coincidence with the other grain words, and the Polynesian *whiti*, "to shine," may have some radical connection with "white." *Tea*, "white," in Niuē is *tsea*, very like *zea*.

It has been shown that *ava* (*sava*, etc.) passed into the idea of "wet" and "wet land." There was evidently from very ancient times, and spread over wide geographical limits, one of those primitive sounds we call a root, having the value of *AV* or *VA*, and meaning water; a watercourse; to flow, etc. The Gaelic *abh*, water; Welsh *aw*, a fluid, flowing; Irish *abh*, a river, *abar* a marsh, appear curiously like the Macassar *aba* a flood, Mangarevan *ava* a channel, Maori *awa* a river, a stream, *awa-keri* a ditch; Anc. German *awa* and *owa*, water, stream, river. The Gothic *ahwa*, water, is apparently related to Latin *aqua*, water, and may not be on the same root, as it appears in Anc. German as *aha*. The Persian *aw* and *ab*, water, is said to belong to the Sanscrit and Zeud root, *AP*, water, but *aw* more closely resembles the Maori *au*, a rapid in a river. The Maori *au* is in Samoan *au*, a current at sea; in Tahitian *au*, a current, and the same in Marquesas, Futuna, etc. Therefore if *au* bears such striking affinity in sound and sense to the Persian *aw*, water, and Cymric *aw*, fluid, it is not impossible that Maori *au-au*, a basket of seed potatoes (the Maori had not grain) may represent the Cabul *au*, bread, and the Persian *awa*,

nourishment. When secondary as well as primary meanings coincide it is strange indeed if there is no common derivation. In the Tagal (Philippines) *baba*, a current, and Bicol *baba*, a flood, current, we have apparently the full word in this connection, the duplicated root, *VA-VA*. The Sanscrit *sava*, water, introduces the *hav* or *sav* variety of correspondents. Japanese have *sawa*, a marsh; *sawasawa*, the sound of flowing water; *sawayaka*, fluent; *savate*, damaged by water; *sawari*, the menses of women. Mota (Banks Islands) has *sawa*, to run on as a fluid advances; *sawarasu*, to run as a fluid; Formosa *sabba*, a river; Fijian *sava-ta*, to wash: *sawana*, the sea-side; Miriam (Torres Straits) *sab*, a sponge; Murray Island *sab*, sponge; Tonga *avaava*, porous, spongy. The author of Sunda (Java) Dictionary, Mr. J Rigg, considers that *sawah*, a wet rice field, means, etymologically, "by means of inundation."

If the Sanscrit *sava*, the juice of flowers, is allied (as is accepted) to the Gothic *sair**, the sea, and the Irish *sabh*, saliva, it may be on the root *SU*, but seeing also that Sanscrit *sava* means water and juice, it is not unreasonable (if unorthodox) to compare the Indian dialects of East Nepaul viz., Kiranti, Waling, Runchenbung, and Dungwali, in all of which the word *chawa* is used for water. But the root *SU*, from which in English come the words suck ("to imbibe, especially milk."—Skeat) and soak; Latin *succus*, juice; Gaelic *sug*, to suck, and *sugh*, juice, is surely purest in its formative words, when expressed by the Polynesian and Malay forms. Consider the Tongan *huhu*, to suck, the breasts; *huhua*, milk; Maori *u*, the female breast; Malay *susu*, the breasts, milk; Brumer Islands *susuga*, the breast, the nipple; Efatese and Maloese *susu*, milk, the breast; Niue (Savage Island) *huhu*, milk, the breast. If Skeat correctly places "sap," the juice of plants, under the root *SU*, then the roots *SU* and *SAV* are interlocked in some way, for the Sanscrit *sava*, the juice of flowers, and Irish *sabh*, spittle, appear more likely to be related to *SAV* than to *SU*, while the Sanscrit *sunā*, a river, may be distinctly held to be on the root *SU*, to distil, to express juice.

Before leaving the consideration of *ava* (*sava*, *hawa*, *sawah*, *saba*, etc.), as water, water-course, ditch, etc., the point must be studied as to the relation it bears to *ava* as "down; downward; sloping," etc. The Sanscrit *ava* means "down," and is often used as a prefix in compound words, as in *ava-kleda*, trickling, descent of moisture; *ava-kshar*, to cause to flow down upon; *ava-gam*, to descend; *ava-sara*, descent of water; *ava-seka*, irrigating. The use of the word in this sense has extended even beyond what is reckoned as Hindustani influence, for we have not only Javanese *bawah*, down, Malay *bawah*, down, Sasak *bawah*, under, down, Bima (Sumbawa) *awa*, beneath, under, down, but Malagasy *ava*, lower down, as applied to any part of

a country towards which the water flows. It is easy, however, to understand that either sense of *ava* could be the parent of the other, viz., water flowing downwards, or the downward direction in which water flows.

If we now leave *ava* as water, we can pursue the words as "soil" in *sawah* or *saba*, as it appears in the Sundanese *pare-sawah*, rice on irrigated lands. When relating to land, however, it generally seems to carry the meaning of limited portions of land, of soil "cabin'd, cribb'd, confined." It passes from the idea of water (even of the sea) to that of narrow beds, or of ditch and boundary between cultivations, and thence to any opening, crack, or fissure, even to that of the human mouth.

In a compound word of Marovo (New Georgia), viz., *puava*, meaning soil generally, and in the Telugu *ava*, low ground outside a village, the exceptions to the idea of limit appear, but even here the Telugu has *avadhi*, a border, limit, boundary. The Japanese *sawa*, a valley between two hills, *awai*, the space between two things (c.f. Tongan, *avai-ihu*, the nostril), with the Malagasy *sava*, made roomy (as if by clearing things out of the way), seem to agree with the innumerable Polynesian forms which make *ava* or *ava* an opening in the reef, a haven, crevice, etc.*

This, however, leads us to the point that the *va* in *ava* should be duplicate (i.e., *vava*), for the word is really only a form of *va*, "space," and the Maori *awa*, river, is such in relation to its flowing between banks as a watercourse. The Maori *wa*, a definite space or interval (in time or distance), becomes *wawa*, a fence, a palisade, and coincides with Samoan *va*, a space between; Hawaiian *wa*, a space between two objects; Tongan *va*, the space between two objects, *vava*, distance; and Mangarevan *vava*, to be torn or rent apart. The Maori *wa* forms compounds such as *wae*, to divide, *wahi*, to divide, etc., but in this connection the most peculiar is that of *waha*, the mouth of a person, the mouth of a hole, even so close to our own idiom as *wahapu*, the mouth of a harbour. *Vaha* has the same meaning of "mouth" in almost all Polynesian dialects, passing, evidently, from this sense to that of speech, the voice, noise, etc. We have Maori *wawa*, to make a loud noise; Rarotongan *va*, gossip; Marquesan *va*, to speak; Aniwa and Mel. Futuna, *fafa*, the mouth; Futuna, *vava*, tumultuous cries.

*Marquesan *ava*, a strait, a sound. Uvea, *ava*, a harbour entrance; Samoan *ava*, an opening in the reef, a boat passage. Tongan, *ava*, an opening, an orifice, hole, ditch, crevice; a passage for vessels; hollow; *ava ava*, full of openings. Tahitian, *ava*, a harbour entrance; *ava ava*, a small opening in the coral reef. Hawaiian, *awa*, an entrance between two reefs; *awawa*, a valley; the space between the branches of a river; the spaces between the fingers of the hand, and between the toes of the feet. We meet the word outside Polynesia, as in the New Georgia dialects, where *sangawa* means a reef-passage.

The Hawaiian *waha*, a mouth, to dig a ditch, shows that it must be a ditch for running water, if we compare Sanscrit *waha*, a flowing current; Sunda *wahagan*, the bed of a river; and the Maori *awaha*, an eloquent speaker, where the governing idea is certainly "fluent";* the Sanscrit *vach*, speech (alluded to in Part II.), is probably one of the Asiatic forms of the word. The Tagal or Bisaya *basa*, to speak; Kayan *bacha*, to read; Malay *basa*, to speak, *bahasa*, speech, *bacha*, to read; Javanese, *wacha*, to read, etc., are all referred by scholars to the Sanscrit *vach*.

It may be urged that the Sanscrit *vaha*, *vahati*, *vahini*, river, and *vahasa*, a watercourse, cannot be connected with the root for speech, but are derivatives of *VAH*, to carry, to bear (as in Zend *vaz*, and Latin *veho*), and that therefore many of the words I have quoted as on the root meaning mouth, or fissure, may properly be on the "carry" root. If this should prove to be the case, I may urge that there is no European word so distinctly on the root of *VAH*, to carry, as the Polynesian verb *vaha*, to carry. (Tahitian, *vaha*; Samoan and Tongan, *fafa*; Hawaiian and Maori, *waha*, etc.) The Malay and other dialects having *bawa*, to carry, are acknowledged, or presumed to be borrowed Sanscrit, yet they are not so near the root sound as the Polynesians are. Nor is the Sanscrit *avani*, river or course of river; *avishi*, river; Irish *abanu*, river, nearer to the root *AV*, to go, than the Maori *awa*, river. If "goer" or "carrier" is the original meaning of *ava*, then the argument of my paper must be transposed; but these ancient roots *AV* and *VA* (as *ava*) have been so made one by time, that their progeny are inextricably mingled and connected. I will not here touch the vexed question of *Yavana*, as Greek, or as a foreigner. It needs a paper to itself.

We must not forget that Colenso (who published the A part of his Maori Dictionary), gives us valuable meanings for *awa*, besides those of river or ditch. He says that *awa* means the dry abandoned bed of an old river; a long hollow in a plain; a dug trench; a raised plot or bed in a garden. *Awaawa* means a rivulet; brook; a narrow valley; the trough of the sea between waves; furrows in a field of ploughed land; a long groove cut or carved in anything. It is evident that these Maori meanings of watercourses, furrows, garden-beds, etc., show that properly *awa*, a river, was not a "wild" river, but water tamed and harnessed. So also in compounds of *waha*, mouth; while *waiwaha* means a furrow, *tawaha* means a garden-bed. In Mota, where *vava* means to speak, *vasa* (Polynesian *vaha* or *waha*) appears in *vasa*

* That the Maoris gave to an eloquent speech, as of one who speaks the language well, the idea of "fluent" is proved by the saying—as applied to the above—"Me te wai e rere ana," "Like flowing water," was the speech of So-and-so.—EDITOR.

niu, a narrow space; *vasa leg*, to irrigate; an irrigated place; and these may even be connected (through the idea of "limit") with *av*, to fence, to pile—as stones for a fence, that is, the enclosure of cultivated land, just as the Canarese *avarana* means the enclosed space round a house; the garden.*

A remarkable and interesting thing happens in regard to *awa* in the sense of a crevice or rift. In Maori it is the name for the female *vulva* (*pudenda*), just as the Polynesian *vaha* or *vasa*, the mouth passes into the Maloese *uasa*, *pudendum muliebre*. Then, further, the Samoans use *ava*, as a wife, and *avaga*, to marry. In Futuna *avaga* is a spouse, marriage; in Niuē *avaya* is copulation. In Tonga (probably through the idea of "cajolery") *avaga* means to be in love with; to bewitch; to be possessed by an evil spirit. The dictionary issued by the French missionaries in Tonga says boldly *avaga* "caresses used to obtain something; a marriage between a person and the devil." In this extraordinary phase of development we will leave our simple word *ava*, a crevice, a fissure, to look after itself. But still more strange the Moriori (Chatham Islands) give us our whole original word *hawaiki* as meaning "a woman"; "a woman's menses."

Having seen that *ava*, or *ava*, means over a huge geographical area, grain, water, water-course, wet-land, soil, and garden bed, we will now turn to its last direct metamorphosis, viz., as dirt, mire, filth.

The Sanscrit *sava* means a dead body, a corpse, and the compounds of this form of *sava* all pertain in some way to corpses. The Telugu *savamu*, a corpse, and the Sunda *sawau*, fits, convulsions, tranced, apparently dead, may be akin to the Sanscrit, but the Japanese *sawate*, stained with water, smirched, apparently gives the key to the Polynesian. Samoan *sava*, filth, ordure; *savasava*, besmeared with dirt; Marquesan *hawa*, dirty, fouled; Maori *hawahawa*, to be smeared; Hawaiian *hawa*, to be daubed with filth; defiled. The Hawaiian leads on through *hawali*, a kind of slimy, sticky fish, to the Paumotuian *faka-havari* (*faka* = causative prefix), to defile, or profane. (The Tongan *haha*, fetid, bad-smelling, as applied to the dead, may or may not be connected.) The Maori *haware*, spittle, Futuna *savalea*, spittle, show signs of being compounds both of *hawa* and *ware*, but can better be considered under *vari*, rice. That they are so compounded is strengthened by the Hawaiian *hawawa*, foolish, ignorant, and the Tongan *faha*, a fool, equivalent to *ware*, or *vare*, a fool, a low ignorant fellow, and joined in Hawaiian *hawale*, lying, deceitful.

*Connected with *va*, space, and *vaha*, the mouth, a fissure, etc., are the Polynesian words *kowha*, to split (*ko-fa*), etc., the original root being *FA*, not *VA*.

There is a faint proof of *ava* being a name for some forgotten thing or place in the Mangarevan *ava* which not only means a passage, a canal, but "lost, gone, absent, slipped from memory." In the causative form, *aka-ava*, to lose, to reject, to absent oneself, to mislead, to misguide, and in *avaroa*, one who has been altogether lost sight of, one who remains in a distant place, we have perhaps a reminiscence either of grain or the land once tilled. In Fiji *yawa* means not only a cluster of fruit, as of cocoanuts, but also "distance," two curious ideas to be expressed by one word. Perhaps Avaiki, which means in Mangareva "a very deep place; a place often mentioned in old songs; Hades," may be connected with this meaning of *ava*, lost, forgotten, absent from sight, as it is the Avaiki or Hawaiki of the Pacific, the under-world of Rarotonga and Mangaia. The Sarawak name of Hades, viz., Sabayan, may be connected with this Savaii or Avaiki.

PARA.

The next word requiring examination is *para*. This is not an ancestral place-name, but the root is *PAR*, a variant of *VAR* (properly *VA* or *FA*), and needs consideration so as to thoroughly grip the connection between *ava* and *vari*.

Para has nearly the same variations as *ava* or *saba*. Just as in India barley was called *yava*, so in Iceland and Scandinavia it was known as *barr*. In Persia *bar* is barley, and from the grain is made *barah* beer. The Gothic (sup.) *baris*, the Ang. Saxon *bere*, only meant barley, but in Celtic dialects the root took wider range, for the Irish *bar* meant wheat, and the Welsh *barlys* (*bar-llys*) is "the bread-herb," for *bara* was bread in Welsh and Armorican, and *bar* was bread as well as wheat in Irish. In Gaelic *barr* meant a crop; the harvest; corn. It is supposed that the Persian *bar*, barley, which also means nourishment in general, fruit, etc., is related to the verb *burdan*, in Sanscrit *bhr*, to bear, nourish, sustain, whence *bhara*, *bharana*, that which nourishes. It thus became a general name for grain-food (as we saw that *yava* or *ava* also did), and if the Skt. *bhara* is the real form then it coincides with the Latin *far*, bread-corn (whence English *farina*, etc.), which denoted not only the great spelt, but all kinds of cereals. Whether, however, it is exclusively an Indo-European word is extremely doubtful, for the Hebrew *bar*, wheat, and the Arabic *burr*, wheat, are borrowers or lenders if they are not in the family bond. It is far more likely to be a common pre-historic and universal word than a loan from one race to another.

The Sanscrit *palāla*, millet; straw; the stalk of sorghum, and *pala*, straw, appear to compare closely with Malagasy *farara*, a corn pipe; *fararano*, harvest, and *farara-nonakoho*, the commencement of rice harvest. The word seems to have been known in Japan as *wara*,

rice-straw, or any straw, and in these cases has assumed mostly the idea of the stalk, and not the grain of cereals. We may note, however, that among rice-eating peoples the word is in use for rice in the grain, and yet not for growing rice. The latter is usually "paddy" (*pari, pare, padi, vari*, etc.), while the grain itself is *para* as in Murut Tuisan *bara*, Javanese *baras*, Bugis *warasa* and *barasa*; Malay, Sulu, Sarawak and Malanau, *bras*. Probably the word *para*, or *bara*, lingers in the Canarese *paramanna*, "milk boiled with a mixture of sugar and rice and considered delicate food," as we saw that *jave* in the same language meant pounded rice offered to a sick person. With these we may compare the Futuna *palasi*, to bruise, to reduce to powder, and with the Canarese *paramanna*, the Maori *paramanawa*, refreshment. Maori has many words of this class founded upon *para*, such as *para-ngungu*, to roast; *parakaraka*, a kind of sweet-potato; *parareka*, a potato; *paranohi*, to place in an oven and cover with hot stones, as in Mangareva *parara* means to cook wrapped-up food on the top of a native oven. In Maori *para* by itself is the name of a large fern, part of the bract or root of which is eaten. Mr. S. Percy Smith says:—"The word *kaipara* is generally translated 'to eat dust or chips,' but a much more reasonable meaning is found if we suppose the *para* here to refer to the fern (*Marattia salicina*) of that name, and the bulbous root of which was considered a delicacy." The writer quotes an old adage: *He aha to kai? He para to kai, ka taka nga hua o te whakairo*, translated as "What is your food? If *para* is your food, the pattern of the tattooing on your face will move," supposed to express delight. If sacrifice was not offered to the goblin (*taniwha*) Parahia, the *kumara* and other crops would be blasted.

The Sunda (Java) *parab*, food, victuals; *paraban*, to feed; Samoan, *palasia*, to eat to satiety; to be surfeited; Lampong, *para*, an offering of food or betel (Maori *parapara*, a first-fruits offering of birds); Tahitian, *para*, a species of root eaten in time of scarcity;* Fijian *bala bala*, a kind of palm (*Cycas revoluta*) the heart of which is eaten in time of scarcity, may all be grounded on the radical meaning of *para*, food.

Remembering that the word *baras* (or *bras*) applied to the rice in grain by rice-eating peoples, would probably receive other meanings among people who do not now eat grain, we may, perhaps, consider the probability of transfer. Words seldom die, they only shift meanings. Probably a key-word is the Canarese *phala* fruit (also Sanscrit *phala*, a fruit), which combining *pala* and *hala* (*para* and *hara*) shows the radix on which we started, viz., *FA* or *PHA*. The Samoan *fala*, the pandanus or screw palm; Tahitian *fara*; Hawaiian *hala*; Mangarevan *hara*; Niuë *fa*; Malay Archipelago *harassas*, all

* Identical with the Maori *para-tawhiti* fern.—EDITOR.

mean the pandanus, whose fruit is edible, and often the only means of subsistence in islands where other food is scarce. Even in Maori, where *whara* means a mat (a remembrance of the other pandanus *fara*, the thatch-tree) there are compounds which show *whara* to be a food-word, e.g., *whara-kai*, to taste food. *Fara* or *fala* is applied in Oceania to other food trees than pandanus. The Tahitian *farafara*, a kind of mountain plaintain; *afara*, another kind of plaintain, also a species of bread-fruit; Hawaiian *hala*, the pine-apple; Futuna *palakisa*, a banana tree and its fruit; Lampong *pala*, the nutmeg tree; Benia *hala*, the gourd fruit; New Georgia *nosara* and *nohara*, the coco-nut, all these show that the meaning of *fala* (*phala*) is fruit or edible fruit. Perhaps the Ponape *par*, a sprouting coco-nut; a soft spongy mass; explains the transference most clearly (see Christian, "The Caroline Islands," p. 340). The Sanscrit *vara-da*, the root of yam, and *vara-phala*, the coco-nut tree, are almost certainly related to the above words, while *bala* is the coco-nut itself. To show the same system in regard to *ava*: at Ysabel the banana is called *jan*, the Hindu name for barley; in the Louisade Arch. *taro* is *yawa*, while at Mokil and Pangelap it is *saua*, and in Ponape *chaua*. In Fiji a bunch or cluster of fruit, such as of coco-nuts, is *yawa*.

Here we must diverge for a short space to consider the *B* to *M* letter-change. This is an exceedingly common transfer of sound. In Celtic we have the Gaelic *Maria* and Cornish *Varia*, the Gaelic *Mhor* and the Manx *Vhor*; in Latin *tumeo* and *tuber*, *glomus* and *globus*; in Maori *maheno*, untied, is also *paheno*; and the Samoan *malemo*, to be drowned, is the Maori *paremo*. This change is acknowledged by all philologists, and it appears to argue a primitive indeterminate letter, in which the sound of *p* or *b* was always with something of *m* before it, as in the Bau dialect of Fiji, where all sounds written with *b* are pronounced *mb*, for instance, Bau as *Mbau*.

If, therefore, we find a series of words in which *m* probably stands for *b* or *p*, they may throw light on the subject. It is possible that the Hindustani *barah*, a homestead, may be related to Zend *vara*, an enclosure; a garden; Sanscrit *vara*, space, room; encompassing, surrounding; desirable; a kind of grain (*bdellium*), and be explained by Malagasy *vala*, a border as of rice ground, the wooden fence of a pen, a partition, and the Holontalo (near Celebes) *vala*, a fence; Telugu *vara*, a term or limit; *valayamu*, an enclosure. So just as we saw that *ava* grain had as one of its forms the Maori *awa*, a garden-bed, so *para*, grain may have as one of its forms the Maori *mara*, a plot of ground under cultivation; a farm. The word is Polynesian generally, as in Samoan *mala*, a new plantation; Marquesan *mala*, a garden; Hawaiian *mala*, a garden; Tongan *maala*, a garden; Man-garevan *mara*, cultivated ground, and Malagasy *namala*, to make a

fence, to set up as a habitation—this latter being on the Malagasy root *rara*. Perhaps the Oceanic name of the sweet potato, viz., *humara*, ‘*unara*, *kumara*, *unala*, etc., may mean “the garden-plant,” or cultivated yam (*ur-mara*), since *uri*, *ubi*, *uji*, etc., is the general name of the yam in the Pacific. Max Müller, speaking of the *AR* root (whence “Aryan”), says that it probably left the Sanscrit *urvara*, “field,” for *ar-rara*, but in Zend *urvara* meant the produce of the field, what it grows, rather than the field itself, the Latin *arvum*. If so, the Motu (New Guinea) *rara*, to grow, to be born, is of significance. In the Pelew Islands the sweet potato is called “the yam of the westward,” *theb-el-barath*, generally supposed to refer to Malay Barat and Sanscrit Barata, i.e., Southern India.

From *mara* grows out the consideration of a very interesting word, viz., *marae*, for the Tongan *maala*, a garden, has as a repeated form *maalaala*, clean, cleared of weeds and rubbish, and so compares with Tahitian *marae*, which means both cleared of rubbish as a garden and the sacred place formerly used for worship. The Maori *marae*, an enclosed space in front of a house, and the central space of a village, also has the meaning of an oven made sacred after a fishing expedition, and so keeps something of the old idea of religious obligation. So, too, the Manganian *marae*, a sacred enclosure, is extended as *maraerae*, cleared of weeds. In Mangareva *marae* is a sacrifice, an offering to the gods, first-fruits; and in the Paumotu *marae* is a temple. I think that these words continue, though perhaps as borrowings, in the Melanesian-Futuna *marai*, a public house, Mairu *mari*, a village, Domari *mari*, a village, Bierian *kamali*, a public house, a village, Bakian *komeli*, a public house, a village, Malekula *hemir*, a public house (c.f., the Russian *mir*). Of course by public house is meant a house common of entry to all.

The initial letter of the word appears to shift back into the *p* or *b* sound as it is traced westward. Raluana *pal*, a house, Sanguir and New Britain *bali*, a house, seem to introduce Malay *balai*, an audience hall, a reception room; Lampong *balaj*, the rice house of a village. Ilocan *balay*, house, Sunda *balai*, an ancient and sacred spot for making offerings and prayers. Rigg (Sundanese Dictionary, 84), says of these *balai*:—“They are frequently found on mountain tops throughout the country, and are often still held in some degree of awe by the natives.” Rigg connects the word with the Sanscrit *bālā*, pure, fit to be offered, and says that it is strange this Sanscrit word should have found its way into the Pacific, as *malai*, a place of religious observances. I am strongly inclined to think, however, that the Lampong *balaj*, the communal store-house of rice, is the origin of the religious idea. Probably the store-house of a tribe was made sacred to preserve it from theft or defilement (as the *kumara* house of the Maori

was made *tapu*), and the sacred house would grow into a central temple. *C.f.*, Sanscrit *bali*, an offering of rice, grain, &c., to the gods. There is however confusion between these words for "house" and "religious space" for the forms alternate between *marai*, *mari*, and *pal*, *bali* and *fale*, the latter being the undoubted Polynesian *fale* or *fare* (Maori *whare*) a house. The Fijian, Aurora and Florida *rale*, a house, show that (like *mara*), *rala*, or *rale* is only a form of *rara*, an enclosure or protection, so that both *marae* and *fare* are probably on the root F A or V A with which we started, in the sense "to cover, to protect," as a cultivation or habitation.

Before we leave the *p* or *b* change to *m*, we should also consider the Polynesian words for "honey." It is said that the Maori *miere*, honey, Hawaiian *mele* and *meli*, honey; Rarotongan *malie*, honey, and Mangarevan *mere*, honey were all given to the Polynesians by missionaries or explorers as borrowings from the Latin *mel*, honey. There is no proof of this, and since the Polynesians could have easily pronounced the English word (as *hani*), it seems unlikely that English visitors would everywhere insist on a Latin word. It is on a par with the absurd notion advanced by Pratt and others, that the Samoan *filo*, twine or thread, was a word introduced from the Latin *filum*, a thread, when the Samoans themselves had the variant *milo* (*f* to *m*), and the other Polynesian dialects had *filo*, to twist, spin; *hiro*, to twist thread; *miro*, to spin, twist thread, &c. There was no necessity whatever for the Polynesians to accept the Latin word *mel*, for a sweet substance that was strange to them; they already had the word in the Tongan *melie*, sweet, delicious, sweetness. This latter word compares with Samoan *malie*, agreeable, with Mangarevan *marie*, good, *merie*, beautiful, &c.

Pictet says that the Greek *meline* (μελίνη), Latin *milium*, Cymric *miled*, Anglo Saxon *mil*, Alban *meli*, all meaning "millet," are on the same root as *mel*, honey, and that it signified sweet, pleasant food (as we saw that *ara*, nourishment, was referred to the Sanscrit root *AV*, to be loved, to rejoice). He says, also, that the Sanscrit *madhuka*, sweet, is the name of one kind of millet, and derived from *madhu*, honey, as the Latin *panicum*, millet, is on the same root as the Sanscrit *panasa*, the bread-fruit tree, viz., the root *PAN*, to praise. But the Sanscrit *madhu*, honey, is related to Greek *methu* (μέθυ), intoxicating drink, and to the English "mead," a drink made from honey. If so, then we must not forget that, as in Aryan languages *MAI* or *MAL* means to grind or rub, to kill, etc., so also in Maori *maru* means crushed, bruised; Moriori *maru*, maimed; and *malu* in many Polynesian dialects has the sense of soft, gentle, easy, calmed, pacified, etc.,* thus showing *maru* or *malu* to be on the same root as *marie*, *malie*, *melie*, sweet, soft, delicious, as above quoted. The word *mara*, as we have

*As it does in Aryan dialects, where *mol-lis*, soft; Greek *mal-akos* (μαλακός), soft; Latin *mola*, a mill; English "mellow," are all on this root *MAL*.

before shown, means in Maori, a cultivation, but it also means prepared by steeping in fresh water, and thus appears to show that though an important meaning of the word *mar* or *mal* was "bruised," "crushed," it was also a word for wet or water, as it was in the European words, *mare*, *mere*, *mer*, etc., for sea, marsh, and mire. The Hawaiian *malu*, quiet, also means wet, soaked in water; the Niuē *faka-malu*, is "water," "to moisten." The Sanscrit *mad*, to be drunk, originally meant to be wet; and the Aryan root *MAD*, to chew, once meant the same, viz., to be wet (Skeat's Etym. Dict., p. 789). Is it therefore unreasonable to suppose that it was the bruised and steeped grain, the *mil*, *mel*, or "millet," that as *madhu* or *methu* became mead, and as *bar*, barley, and other grain when steeped gave *bara* and *bere*, beer? It also suggests the idea that fermentation in such beverages might at first have been set up by chewing the grain, as *ava* (*kara*) root is chewed in the South Seas to make a slightly intoxicating drink. If so, it is another link between *barah* (*para*), and *ava*,* and is strengthened by the Tongan verb *faka-pala*, to cause to ferment.

After this long digression we will return to the direct study of *para*. We have seen that it meant barley, wheat, and grain—that it was probably applied to fruit when grain was lost sight of, and we will now consider it further as wet, wetness, and wet land, just as we did in the case of *ava*. The Irish *bar*, the sea (evidently a variant of *MAR*, Latin *mare*, the sea, etc.), forms *barrag*, scum, grease on the surface of water, and compares with Irish *barr*, scum, grease. The Sanscrit *palala*, mud, mire; *mala*, sediment, dregs; Zend, *vara*, rain; Latin, *palustris*, *paludus*, a marsh; Irish, *pol*, mire, dirt; Telugu *parra*, a swamp, marsh; *parratou*, to flow as water; *pallu*, low ground; Macassar *parro*, alluvium; resemble Tongan *palapala*, muddy, miry; Samoan *palapala*, mire, mud; Maori *para*, sediment; impurity; water made muddy by a land-slip: *para kivi*, silt, refuse from a flood; *parangeki*, rubbish brought down by a flood; *parawhenua*, a flood; etc. In Nukuoro *para o te langi*—"para of the heavens"—is rain. The Tahitian *para*, manure, dung, rotten vegetables, shows how the word has taken one direction as "decaying matter," while the Duke of York's Island (New Hebrides) *pala*, water; Sunda *bar*, pouring out; Malagasy *paratra*, dripping, leaking; Samoan *palavale*, to liquify, aqueous, and Epi, *barama*, a stream, appear to denote that the sense of "wet" passed into that of "water." Perhaps the Telugu *varava*, a channel of supply to an artificial lake; *varu*, to be strained of water, as boiled rice; *varudzu*, the ridge or dam dividing one piece of irrigated ground from another, show that the water was "tamed water," as *ava* was.

Kava, however, is, I believe, on the root *K'AU*, to chew, but the words have grown together too many centuries for dissociation to be possible. I return to this further on.

Para in the sense of muddy, boggy, divides into several lines of direction, viz., (1) soft, ripe, mellow; (2) suppurating, ulcerated; (3) bedaubed, smeared, painted; (4) rotten; (5) spittle, or mucus.

Belonging to (1) we have Hawaiian *pala*, to cook soft, to ripen and be soft; *palalalo*, soft, rotten, as bananas; Rotuma *parapara*, soft; Whitsuntide Island *madamada*, soft*; Mangarevan *para*, ripe, matured, herbs or leaves dried in the ground; *aka-para* (*aka* is a causative prefix), to ripen fruit in the earth, to prepare breadfruit, etc., in water; *parakai*, the remains of paste or porridge (*maa*) sticking to the leaves or wrappers; *kopara*, remains of very ripe fruit crushed on the ground; Samoan *palasi*, to drop down, as over-ripe fruit; Tahitian, *para* ripe, as fruit; particles of food adhering to a vessel or the hands; Maori *para*, turned yellow; Rarotongan *tapara*, to blanch, as bananas by burying them in the ground.

The idea of soft ripe (1) leads to that of (2) suppuration. Maori *para*, affected with pimples; *wharaki* (*faraki*), an inflamed sore; Tahitian *para*, come to a head as an abscess; Hawaiian *palapu*, anything soft enough to run, as matter from a boil; Malay *barah*, an abscess or boil; Lampong *barah*, a furuncle; Futuna *pala*, ulcerated, putrid; Samoan *pala*, corruption, *palapala*, a sore, ulcer; *papala*, a sore, ulcer, sufficiently show this meaning.

In the sense of (3) bedaubed, smeared, painted, we have the Hawaiian *hopala* (for *hoo-pala*, i.e., *whaka-para*), to daub, paint; *kapala*, to blot, daub or stain; *hoo-pala*, to anoint, daub; *palahea*, dirty, besmeared; *palaki*, to smear over; to whitewash a wall. Tahitian *parapara*, to daub or besmear repeatedly.

To (4) i.e., "rotten" belong Samoan *pala*, to rot, to be rotten; corruption; Maori *para*, rotten, turned to dust; *paranga*, excrement; *parapara*, dirty matter; *parakoka*, refuse of flax; Hawaiian *opala*, refuse, letter; *palani*, to stink; Tahitian *para*, rotten vegetables, &c.

To No. 5 (slimy; saliva) &c., Maori *para*, semen; Mangarevan *kopara*, a young squid or octopus; Hawaiian *palahe*, soft, slimy, as mucus from the nose; Samoan *palavale*, aqueous (*vale*, spittle). Sanscrit *mala*, dregs mucus, filth. Why *para* in Maori means "ardour; courage," is shewn by its Sanscrit congener *bala*, force, vigour, semen virile: gum.

Besides these meanings of *para*, we have another important one in Maori, viz., "to fell bush," but this form of the word can be better explained further on under *vari*. It may, however, be said here that there is a distinct relationship between the idea of "division" and "cultivation" under *para*. This is perhaps best shown by pointing out that Maori *maramara*, a chip, splinter, small piece; Samoan *malamala*, chips of wood; small pieces of fish; Tongan *malamala*,

* C.f. the Aryan root *MAD* to chew, formerly "to be wet."

chips of wood; lumps of fish; Fijian *mala*, a chip; Mangarevan *maramara*, firewood; Paumotuan *maramara*, a piece, a portion; *kamara*, a particle, all point to the conclusion that *mara* in the sense of plantation or garden meant a portion separated and divided off. This is strengthened by the Maori *marara*, separated; *hapara*, to split; Motu *parara*, split; Malay *balah*, to hew in two; to split; cleft, fissure; Java *marah*, to divide; Hawaiian *mamala*, a small piece of any substance broken off from a larger; Malagasy *mamala*, to make a fence (*vala*, a border, as of rice ground); Paumotuan *varavara*, separated; Telugu *vara* a term, limit. Zend *vara*, an enclosure; Lampong *vara*, a buffalo pen; Persian *parra*, a border. The important part of the comparison is that it shows that *para* (*bala*, *mara*) as division, cleft, compares with *va* or *ava*, as cleft, fissure, separated, &c.

In placing Maori *para* on the root *PAR* or *PAL* (subsidiary root of *VA* or *FA*) it should not be forgotten that not only *para* but *paru* means mud, muddy, etc., and that *paroparo* is withered, decayed, plainly showing, through *para*, *paro*, *paru*, that *par* is the common stock.

Moreover, by a lengthening of the vowel *a* it acquires the sound of *u*, so that *pal* becomes *pul*, or *pur*. In this connection the Maori *purapura*, seed; Samoan *pulapula*, a slice of yam to plant; Hawaiian *pulapula*, the tops of sugarcanes cut for planting; Tahitian *faa-purara*, to scatter (as in sowing seed); Fijian *bulabula*, yam-sets; *vuravura*, the shoots or suckers of the sugarcane, show the same change which caused the Aryan *far* or *phal*, grain, to become the Sanscrit *phul* and *phal*, fruit. The Fijian *bura*, to emit semen, compared with the Maori *para*, semen, and Sanscrit *bala*, semen, shows that the original idea was seed, and that the "scattering" of seed altered into "planting" out sets of yam, sugarcane, etc.

To return briefly to the Maori *para*, to fell trees, clear bush, etc., it may not be unreasonable to show that it has connection with original cultivation of grain. Mr. Rigg, author of the Dictionary of Sunda, writing of *Seri*, the divine protectress of the rice-fields, says that *seri* is a mystical name of paddy (rice in the field), and that *seri-wanadi* was the primitive rice brought to Java, supposed to have come from Mesir or Egypt. He explains *wanadi* as *wana*, a forest; *di*, milk coagulated by means of an acid; thus "coagulated milk of the forests," from the rice having been originally planted in a piece of forest cleared for that purpose. Seeing that in Maori *para* is to fell trees, in Malay *balah*, to hew in two, and in Macassar *papara*, to pare, to chop down, there may be (and it is only a suggestion) connection with Icelandic *par*, to pare, even if the English *pare* and French *parer* are from the Latin *parare*, to prepare, to deck, for they all bear the sense of "to get ready, to trim, to prepare," as the ground of the forest clearing was prepared for planting.



WALLIS, THE DISCOVERER OF TAHITI.

BY MISS TEUIRA HENRY.

IN regard to the article entitled "Who discovered Tahiti?" written by Mr. George Collingridge in the September number of the JOURNAL OF THE POLYNESIAN SOCIETY of the year 1903 he is supported in his views by the best authority that that honour assuredly falls to the English navigator Wallis, as is easily shown.

Owing to the careful investigation among English and Spanish authors, by the late gallant officer, Mr. X. Caillet, Lieutenant de Vaisseau and Chevalier de la Legion d'honneur, who was thoroughly acquainted with the Society and Paumotu Islands, from long contact and official dealings with them, the question has been satisfactorily solved, and Tahitian children are taught from French books that the English navigator Wallis was the discoverer of Tahiti. And by the kind permission of Mr. Caillet, we are permitted to produce the following translations of extracts from his learned essay entitled "*Iles découvertes par Pedro Fernandez de Quiros, du 21 Decembre 1605 au Mars 1606, dans sa traversée du Callao a l'Ile Gente Hermosa,*" which was published officially by the French Government for the benefit of their navy:—

He explains that the course that Quiros took was hard to trace, as it was taken at a time when the art of navigation was in its primitive stage. Nautical charts by Mercator did not come in until the year 1630; Halley's octant only appeared in 1731; Napier's logarithms, invented in 1614 and perfected by Briggs, Gellibrand and Gunter, came in use in 1633; scientific clocks, by Huygens, only date from 1667 to 1675; and the chronometer, invented by John Harrison, came into notice in 1759.

For these reasons, Mr. Caillet remarks, one can understand how it was that Mendana, the Spanish explorer, after having discovered the Solomon Islands in 1567, was unable to find them again on his second voyage in 1595.

The works bearing on the subject of his investigation, he says, are interesting from more than one standpoint, and they throw out

the patriotic impartiality of their authors. English writers attribute to Quiros the discovery of Tahiti, while the Spanish geographers render Wallis the honour of this discovery ; but the glory of Quiros does not remain less brilliant.

Duncan, who wrote an essay taken from the work called *Universal Biography*, tome 36, in the *Bibliotheca Hispanica*, and from other serious works on the ancient explorations, says that turning to the N.W. on the 9th February, 1606, Quiros saw in the east, latitude $18^{\circ} 40'$, land which was named *Santa Polina*, and on the 10th he discovered Tahiti, which he called *Sagitaria*.

Findlay, in his "*South Pacific Directory*," states that, on the 10th February, 1606, the Spanish saw in rainy weather, a low island, the point of which extended S.E., and was covered with palm trees. To this island Torres and Torquemada do not give any name, but in the list of Quiros it is called *Sagataria*. But in a letter written from Manilla by Luis Vaes de Torres, one of the navigators just referred to, who sailed under Quiros, he states that that island was in latitude $10^{\circ} 30'$, that it was entirely low, and partly covered with water (*San Pablo* probably), and that from thence they continued their course to the N.W., passing latitude $16^{\circ} 30'$ and onwards to $10^{\circ} 14'$, but he does not mention the other three islands, *Decena*, *Sagitaria* and *Fugitiva*, noted by his fellow navigators as we shall soon see.

In the *Bulletin* of the Geographical Society of Madrid, October 1882, Mr. Beltran y Rospide published a critical essay on the discovery by Quiros of the four islands in the Tuamotu Group, named *San Pablo*, *Decena*, *Sagitaria*, and *Fugitiva*, which he affirms geographers have confounded with Tahiti of the Society Islands, discovered by the British ; and the documents which throw light upon his subject are the records of the voyage of Quiros in the journal of the expedition, written by Gonzalès de Leza, and MS. by Luis de Belmonte, archival secretary of Quiros.

Mr. Beltran y Rospide says that after discovering several islands of the Tuamotu Archipelago between parallels 25° and $18^{\circ} 30'$, Quiros encountered, on the 10th February, 1606, the first inhabited island, to which he gave the name of *La Conversion del San Pablo*. The Spanish were received kindly by the natives, and they lingered there two days. And on February 12th, 13th and 14th, respectively, they sighted three other islands which they named *Decena*, *Sagitaria* and *Fugitiva*.

In regard to these islands Gonzalès de Leza, under Quiros, says in his journal that they saw on the 12th February, lying five or six leagues north of *San Pablo*, an island which appeared to be small, and which they avoided approaching. This was *Decena*. At noon the following day they sighted *Sagitaria*, about 20 leagues N.W. of

San Pablo, but could not approach it because of the wind, which varied N.E. and E.N.E. And then appeared Fugitiva, a large island, at daybreak on the 14th, five leagues east of them, *which in appearance resembled the others.* They could not tell whether these islands were inhabited or not.

Of them, Belmonte, the archivic secretary under Quiros says, that as soon as those of their number who visited the Island of San Pablo had returned to their ship, the captain wished to heave to for the night, so as to remain on the side of the island where the people were, but his plans were overruled by the pilot, who said it would be preferable to go before the wind, which varied from E. to N.E., and they accordingly did so. The following day they passed an island which they could not approach, and named it Decena, and it was the same with two others which they sighted further on the two following days, the nearer one of which they named Sagitaria, and the further one Fugitiva. They found themselves in latitude 10° at this juncture.

This conscientious dissertation, says Mr. Caillet, is a ray of light thrown upon the course taken by Quiros from the 10th to the 14th of February, 1606, for it proves clearly that the four islands seen by that navigator, between parallels 18° and 14° South, are in the Tuamotus. It fixes almost to a certainty their respective positions, and it cites Hao (La-harpe of Bougainville, or Bow-Island of Cook) as the island responding to that given by Leza and Belmonte as La Conversion del San Pablo.

As a result of his investigation, Mr. Caillet makes the following remarks :—

According to Torres, La Conversion del San Pablo, which the Spanish visited, is a low island partly covered with water. It therefore does not resemble the “Queen of the Islands of Oceania.” The Spanish sighted the other islands within five or six leagues of their ship, and had any one of them resembled Tahiti, they would have been struck with the appearance of its lofty, fantastic mountains, rendering it so different from the others of their discovery. But according to Leza, all these islands, even to Fugitiva, resemble each other. In the Tuamotu Archipelago, to which belong the first islands seen by Quiros, are divers islands from Hao, 18° to Rangiroa 15° , the situations and nature of which are almost identical with those given by Leza and Belmonte, as the four islands named San Pablo, Decena, Sagitaria, and Fugitiva, which are the object of the learned essay by Mr. Beltran y Rospide.

In addition to the above concise dissertation, we may note other statements in the records of the Spanish explorers that serve to concentrate the light upon the subject.

The Island of San Pablo, visited by them, had a prominent point extending S.E. which was covered with coconut trees, and this is like Hao, but does not agree with the appearance of the S.E. coast of Tahiti, where stands the great headland of Taiarapu, rising to an imposing height from the sea. It had a sandy isthmus covered at high tide with the sea, and there was no fresh water anywhere to be found in its vicinity ; the Isthmus of Taravao, uniting the peninsular of Taiarapu to Tahiti, is hilly ground, and not sandy along the shore on either side, as graphically though briefly described by Lady Brassey in her book of travels in the "Sunbeam." It is mostly a spacious tableland, two miles wide and rising 45ft. across the centre, above the sea level, well watered and luxuriant, and on either side are rivulets flowing into the sea. They found no anchorage for their ship ; on either side of the isthmus and all around Tahiti, are safe harbours protected by a friendly reef. And they had to go in search of native people and found but few, which was unlike the experience of Wallis, Bougainville, Cook, and other navigators, who were soon surrounded with canoes and a great many people. Therefore the Island of San Pablo cannot be Tahiti.



KAKAHI-MAKATEA PA, LOWER WAIRARAPA.

RELATED BY MAJOR TU-NUI-O-RANGI.

AFTER the Ngati-Kahungunu tribe had settled down in lower Wairarapa for some years, and in the days of Te Popoki, grandson of Rakai-rangi, who came with the others in the three canoes from Heretaunga, disputes and troubles arose from time to time, and amongst them the following, which is interesting as illustrating some of the customs of the Maori of old. Near Lake Pou-nui, situated in a hollow on the lower spurs of the Rimu-taka mountains, are the remains of an old *pa*, still in excellent preservation, named Kakahi-makatea,* which was the home at the period of this story, of Te Akitu-o-te-rangi, a chief of considerable power and influence, and of high rank. It was the custom in those days—indeed, for many years after—for chiefs of distinction to call upon neighbouring *hapus*, generally more or less related, to either come and work his forests to procure birds or his streams to obtain fish, etc., or otherwise to procure them from their own preserves, and present them to the particular chief who had initiated the proceedings. There was nothing in this that implied any sense of subserviency in those who supplied the products (*mau*) of the forests; they did not hold the position of *rahi* or serfs, such as conquered tribes did, but were free men as much as he to whom the products were given.†

From his *pa* at Kakahi-makatea, Te Akitu-o-te-rangi had sent his messengers round to the neighbouring people, asking them to comply with custom and supply preserved birds for his use. Amongst those who engaged in the work were the people of Te Popoki, who are known at this day as Ngati-Rakai-rangi, being the descendants of Rakai-rangi

* In a stream not far from this *pa* was found some 30 years ago an old *taiaha* of extraordinary size, showing that its owner must have been a very powerful man to wield such a weapon. It was about half as long again as the ordinary 5–6 foot *taiaha* and broad in proportion; the carvings on it were still plainly to be seen, though evidently the weapon had been there many ages. It was cut down to ordinary size by an old Maori, and used as a *taiaha* for many years. It is not known what became of it.

† Whilst this was the custom it would seem to imply a sort of tribute to a *high chief*—a recognition of his position as a leading one in his tribe.

mentioned above. Te Popoki had seven sons and two daughters, and it was in their time the *hapu* designation was adopted. So the people gathered to the forests to catch birds—pigeons, *kakas*, *tuis*, etc. On a certain amount having been collected—ten, *tahā*, the story says—the people started off for Kakahi-makatea to deliver the proceeds of their work. It took them some days to reach the *pa*, the birds being carried on their backs. On arrival the whole of the cases were placed in a *tahua* or row, such as is customary in presenting food, and then Te Akitu was sent for to receive the present. The chief man of the party then arose to make a speech presenting the food, explaining that a certain case contained his own contribution. Te Akitu then advanced and uncovered the top layer of leaves, etc., and examined the contents, finding the case quite full. This was the usual custom. The same course was pursued with all the others, all being full, until he came to the last, which was little more than half full. This belonged to a man named Whakatoitoti. Now, a full case was the proper thing to present. To offer less was to *whakahawe*a or despise the recipient.

Te Akitu returned to his *pa* whilst preparations were made for a feast to be given to the donors. He then sent for his *toa* or warrior, explained to him that one of the cases was wanting in quantity, and told him to act in the usual manner. This man, taking his weapon, went down to the camp of the donors and told Whakatoitoti that Te Akitu wanted to see him. The former could not conceive what he was wanted for, but on the whole felt pleased that so great a man should want him, thinking perhaps Te Akitu was about to present him with a garment or some other present. So he followed the warrior until they arrived near the *pa*, when the latter turned on him and brained him. His body was then cut up, and the deficiency in Whakatoitoti's case was made up with his own flesh. Such was the custom, and consequently no attempt to avenge his death was made.

Some time passed, and then Te Akitu decided to visit some of his relatives in the north. He took with him a party of his own warriors as a bodyguard. One night they arrived at Te Popoki's village and were received with the usual welcome. Te Popoki placed before his guests dried kumara (*kao*) and preserved *korau* (*kao-korau*), besides a dish (*papa*) of preserved birds (*huahua*). After the guests had satisfied themselves Te Akitu said to Te Popoki, "I shall return in a few nights' time; keep the remains of the birds which we have not consumed until I return." Then he departed on his way.

After the party had gone Te Popoki called his sons and people together and said to the former, "Eat the remains of the birds. It is not right that I should be left to guard food. Eat!" So the sons fell to and consumed the remains of the birds. As the time for Te Akitu's return approached Te Popoki seems to have had some doubts as to the

light in which the former would view his conduct. So he told his people they had better remove from their village for a time to the forest. As they reached the other side of the valley they saw a tall dead tree standing. "Set fire to it," said Te Popoki. This was done; then the people moved on. Again they saw another tall dead tree, which was also set fire to. Then the party dispersed to their haunts in the woods.

The day after they had departed from the village, Ahine-kohai, which is near where Gladstone now is, Te Akitu returned from his visit, to find no one at home and the fires quite cold. "Where can the people have disappeared to?" thought he, as visions of passing the night without food passed before his mind. One of the young men had by this time ascended a hill near the village, from whence he descried the smoke from the first burning tree. On hearing this Te Akitu ordered them to move on to the smoke. Arrived there they saw only the burning tree, but soon after discovered the second one further off. Again they proceeded to this second tree and found nobody, only the burning tree. Said Te Akitu, "This means mischief towards us; my sons, let us get home to our *pa*," which they did, arriving in due course.

Now, in those days the Ngati-Rakai-rangi and the Ngati-Hika-wera had a standing quarrel over a certain *pua-manu* tree on which they used to catch birds. It stood exactly on the acknowledged boundary, but both claimed it. Soon after the adventure related above Ngati-Rakai-rangi set their traps in the disputed tree, and secured the season's crop of birds. Naturally this angered Ngati-Hika-wera, and when the next season came they placed their snares in the tree very early. On visiting the tree Ngati-Rakai-rangi saw the snares, climbed up, threw them down and smashed them. They then looked for foot tracks, discovered them, and followed them, eventually coming on a man of Ngati-Hika-wera, whom they killed.

Ngati-Hika-wera were now aroused, but feeling themselves not strong enough for Ngati-Rakai-rangi, and having in mind the little disagreement between the latter tribe and Te Akitu, sent a messenger, Te Rangi-hauta, to them for assistance. The overtures were received with joy, as was always the case, and a war-party started at once for Te Popoki's home. On arrival they found the *pa* abandoned by all except four men, the people being engaged away from their *pa*. Of these four men two escaped to the woods, whilst the other two (one named Turu-kokopani) were caught and killed. The opportunity was not lost, for Te Akitu's daughter had arrived at the age at which her lips and chin ought to be tattooed* (*taanga-ngutu*), and in all cases

* In this district there is no invariable rule as to the age at which a woman is tattooed. Sometimes it is before marriage, sometimes at the time of marriage, generally the former.

where the lady to be operated on is of high rank a human victim was sacrificed to the gods, and his body eaten. It was to this purpose that the two men were devoted.

No great time elapsed after the killing of the two men when Ngati-Rakai-rangi started out on the warpath to obtain some satisfaction for their two men killed. Advancing into Te Akitu's country, they came across a man (Te Pourewa) and a woman (Piri-o-kaea) of his *hapu*, whom they at once knocked on the head, and carried the bodies back to their home in order to use them for a somewhat similar purpose to that to which Te Akitu had put the others. At this time a child of . . . a chief of the tribe, named Tama-i-hikoia was about old enough to begin to walk, and according to ancient custom ought to receive a name (*tuatanga*). This, like the tattooing of a high-born girl, required the sacrifice of a human victim, and it was to this purpose that the bodies of the man and woman were put.

The two tribes having each suffered equally, this ended their enmity.

When a young boy first goes into the forest with his companions to kill birds, catch *kokopu*, etc., the first-fruit of his prowess, whatever it may be, is brought home to the priest, who then offers the bird, etc., to the god with *kurakia*, after which it may be eaten by the boy.

When a tribe secures a success in battle, the first slain of the enemy has his heart torn out, which is then taken to the priest, who offers it to the god (*whangai-hau*), then touches the lips of the first-born male child of the tribal chieftain, in order that he may acquire ferocity and be a warrior.



THE NEW MAORI DICTIONARY.

WE are glad to announce that the Government have met the application of the Society—referred to on page 187, vol. xii.—in a liberal spirit and have undertaken to print the dictionary. There is thus every chance of securing a really good dictionary of the Maori dialect of the Polynesian language. Several of our members are contributing from their stock of words not shown in existing dictionaries.

Mr. H. C. Carter, one of our members, supplies the following additions to the list of published dictionaries printed in the foregoing article :—

23. Grammaire et Dictionnaire de la Langue Maorie, Dialecte Tahitien, Suivi de l' Histoire et de l' Evangile de St. Marc, en Tahitien et en Français, par Mongr. Janssen, Eveque d' Axieri, Paris, Maisonneuve et Ch Leclerc 1887. p.p. : 78, 96, 114.
24. Dictionnaire, Samoa-Français-Anglais, et Français-Samoa-Anglais, Précédé d' une grammaire de la Langue Samoa, par Le P. (ère) L. Violette, Missionnaire Apostolique à Samoa, Paris, Maisonneuve & Cie. 1879, pp. xcii., 468.
25. Kurze Anleitung zum Verständniz, der Samoanischen Sprache. Grammatek und Vokabularium, von Dr. B. Funk, Berlin, 1893. Ernst Seigfried Wittler und Sohn. pp. 6, 82.
26. To the above may be added "A Hawaiian Grammar" by Lorrin Andrews.



TRANSACTIONS AND PROCEEDINGS

POLYNESIAN SOCIETY.

THE Council met on April 16th, 1904—Present: Messrs. Kerr, Newman and Skinner.

Correspondence was read from Sir Joseph Ward acknowledging receipt of following resolution:—"That this Society desires to express its great appreciation of what Sir Joseph Ward has done in the way of aiding the publication of the dictionary of the Maori language now being prepared by Rev. H. W. Williams."

Mr. J. H. Parker was elected a member of the Council.

The Council met on the 21st June, 1904--Present: Messrs. Corkill, Kerr, Fraser, Newman, Parker and Skinner.

Correspondence was read from the British and Foreign Bible Society, thanking this Society for having placed it on the honorary list of membership.

The following new members were elected:—

- 357 Professor J. McMillan Brown, Canterbury College, Christchurch.
- 358 James M. Peebles, Glenavy, South Canterbury.
- 359 M. H. Gray, A.R.S.M., F.G.S., F.R.C.S., Lessness Park, Kent, England.

Books, &c., received since last issue of the JOURNAL:—

- 1570 *Transactions N.Z. Institnte.* Vol. xxxv.
- 1571 *The Melanesian Languages.* Dr. Codrington (from the Author).
- 1572 *Ninth Report Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science.*
- 1573-4-5 *The American Antiquarian.* Vol. xxv., 2-3-4.
- 1576-81 *La Géographie.* Vol. vii., 5-6; viii., 1-2-3-4.
- 1582 *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië.* Deel lvi., 1904.
- 1583 *Notulen van de Algemeene, &c., Bataviaasch Genootschap.* Deel xli. 2-3, 1903.
- 1584 *Tijdschrift voor Indische, &c., Bataviaasch Genootschap.* Deel xlvi., 6.
- 1585-6 *Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft, Vienna.* Band xxxiii., 1, 2, 3, 4.
- 1587-8-9 *Bulletins et Mémoires de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris* Tome xiv. 2, 3, 4.
- 1590-1-2 *The Geographical Journal.* Dec., 1903; Jan., Feb., 1904.
- 1593-4-5 *Journal Royal Colonial Institute.* Vol. xxxv., 1-2-3.

- 1596 *Proceedings Royal Geographical Society of Australasia*. S. A. Branch, vol. vi.
- 1597 *Rock Carvings of Hawaii*. By A. F. Judl.
- 1598 *Proeve eener Ned : Indische Bibliographie*. Supplement 2. 1903.
- 1599 *Dagh-Register, Casteel Batavia*. 1676.
- 1600 *De Tjandi Mendoet, &c. Bataviaasch Genootschap*. 1903.
- 1601 *Memoirs, American Museum of Natural History*. Vol. iv., 4.
- 1602-3-4 *Na Mata*. Dec., 1903; Jan., Feb., 1904.
- 1605-6-7-8 *Science of Man*. Nov., Dec., 1903; Jan., Feb., 1904.
- 1609 *Annual Report Australian Museum*. 1902.
- 1610 *Australian Museum, Memoir IV*.
- 1611-12 *Records Australian Museum*. Vol. v., 2, 3.
- 1613 *Internationales Centralblatt*. viii., 5, 1903.
- 1614 *Pipiharauroa*. No. 71.
- 1615-16-17-18 *Memorias de la Real Academia de Ciencias y Artes de Barcelona*. Vol. iv., 33, 34, 35, 36.
- 1619 A parcel containing—*Bulletin : Société Africaine de France*, No. 1, 1888; *Revue Orientale et Américaine*, Tome ii, 5, 6, 7, 8. 1978.
- 1620 *Dictionary of the Language of Mota*. Dr. R. H. Codrington (from the Author).
- 1621 *Journal American Oriental Society*. Vol. xxiv., 1.
- 1622-3-4 *Revue de l'Ecole d'Anthropologie de Paris*. Nov., Dec., 1903; Jan., 1904.
- 1625-6 *Revue de l'Ecole, d'Anthropologie de Paris*. Feb., Mar., 1904.
- 1627 *Australian Museum, Memoir IV. Trawling Expedition, H.M.C.S. "Thetis."*
- 1628-9 *Journal Royal Colonial Institute*. March, April, 1904.
- 1630 *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde*. Deel xlvii. 1 and 2.
- 1631-2 *The American Antiquarian*. Vol. xxv., No. 2; vol. xxvi.
- 1633 *The Tokyo Imperial University Calendar*. 1903-1904.
- 1634 *President's Report, University of Montana*. 1902-3.
- 1635 *Bulletin University of Montana. Summer Birds of Flathead Lake*.
- 1636 *The Geographical Journal*. March, 1904.
- 1637 *La Géographie*. January, 1904.
- 1638 *Science of Man*. March, 1904.
- 1639-40 *Na Mata*. March, April, and May, 1904.
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POLYNESIAN ORIGINS.

(Continued.)

BY EDWARD TREGGAR.

VARI.

WE now approach the most important word of all, viz., *vari*. We have seen how the root *FA* or *VA* developed into *FAR*, *PAR*, *BAR*, etc., and it seems to have acquired peculiarly the meaning of "rice," as it went eastward under variant forms of *vari*, *pare*, *padi*, etc. To the westward it was much more uncertain, and partakes of the general haziness of all grain names which seem applied indifferently, or locally (as in *ava*), to wheat, oats, millet, barley, etc. Skeat supposes an original Gothic *baris*, barley (from *barizeins*, made of barley), which may be one of the forms of *vari*, and he also places the Sanscrit *vrihi*, rice, under an Aryan root, *WARDH*, to grow. Pictet (III., 843) says, "One may infer that *vrihi* was originally the name of another cereal, perhaps wheat generally, applied by Indians to rice, and to rye by European Aryans. This is indicated by the way that among the Slavs the word for rye passes to wheat, and that the Lith. *ruggiei* means both." He considers that *vrihi* or *vrh* is the root, for *vrddhi*, with the sense of "growing, increasing"; Persian *barz*, grain, wheat, compares with Sanscrit *brh*, *barh*, and the Thracian name for rye.

RYE.

Anc. Thrace., *βριζα* (*briza*)
 Turk., *arysh*, *aresh*, *irash*
 Wagoule, *orosh*, *oroz*
 Eniséen, *oros*, *arysh*
 Russ., *raju*
 Polon. Bohem., *rez*
 Illyr., *rasc*

RICE.

Afghan, *urishi*
 Persian, *orz* (c.f. Arab., *urz*, *uruz*)
 Greek, *ὀρυζα* (*oruza*)
 Illyr., *oriz*
 Polon., *ryz*
 Illyrien, *ryzei*
 Italian, *riso*
 Arab, *ruz*

Trembling to arouse the thunders of orthodox philology, I venture to suggest that probably the nearest living relative of the Sanscrit

vrihi, rice, is the Malagasy *varisia*, a kind of rice, even if originally the Sanscrit itself might not have come from the form *varihia*. In Malagasy, *vary* is "rice" generally, and *varibotry*, *varidatsy*, *varihora*, etc., are different kinds of rice. Whether the insular position of Madagascar has allowed the isolation and perpetuation of a word that has on the continent of Asia perhaps dropped its vowels *a*, and turned *varihia* into *vrihi*, it is difficult to prove, and equally hard to disprove, but from all the grain-words on *bar* and *far* which we have already quoted it appears most probable that *vrihi* was once *vari* or *variki*. That the ancient Aryans, before they left their primitive home, were acquainted with rice is unlikely, but it is quite possible that among them a word was in use for grain, as *varis*, that became the *baris*, *faris*, etc., of Western cereals, and the *vari*, rice, of Eastern cereals.

Vrihi, rice is not mentioned in the Rig Veda, but is spoken of in the Atharva Veda. Compounds of it are *vrihi-bheda*, Panicum Miliaceum; *vrihi-rajika*, Panicum Italicum; *vrihi-kancana*, a kind of pulse, *Ervum lens*, or *hirsutum*.

As distinctly "rice" the following list may convince:—

Malagasy	<i>vari</i> , rice	Macassar	<i>pare</i> , rice in husk
Telugu	<i>vari</i> , paddy (rice in crop)	"	<i>bae</i> " "
Bima	<i>fare</i> , paddy	Kyan	<i>pare</i> " "
Kolo	<i>pare</i> , paddy	Punan	<i>pare</i> " "
Lampong	<i>pari</i> , a rice field	Brunei	<i>padi</i> " "
"	<i>pari sabah</i> , an irrigated rice-field	Malinau	<i>padai</i> " "
Java	<i>pari</i> , rice in husk	Matu	<i>padai</i> " "
Sasak	<i>pare</i> " "	Kanowit	<i>padai</i> " "
Malay	<i>padi</i> , paddy	Murut	<i>padass</i> " "
Sarawak	<i>padi</i> " "	Dali Dusun	<i>parai</i> " "
Sunda	<i>pare</i> " "	Ida'an	<i>parei</i> " "
Sibuyan	<i>padi</i> " "	Bisaya	<i>parei</i> " "
Pakatau	<i>pari</i> " "	Laro	<i>pade</i> " "
Sea Dyak	<i>padi</i> , rice in husk	Sadong	<i>padi</i> " "
		Sulu	<i>bai</i> " "
		Maldiva	<i>bae</i> , cooked rice

This list, comprehending dialects of the Philippines, Borneo, Java, the Malay Islands, Madagascar, and Southern India, sufficiently shows the strong hold the word still has among the rice-eating peoples.

There are other words which not absolutely applied as names for rice, are evidently connected with *vari* (root *FAR*) as grain, e.g., the Telugu *padi*, a garden bed, while *vari* is paddy; and the Bima (Sumbawa) *pari*, to sow, to strew, where *fare* is paddy.

Mr. F. Christian, with his unfailing acumen as to philological resemblances, has pointed out that the *bae* or *bai* for rice is probably connected with the South Chinese (Canton and Swatow) *mai*, rice, and that the word may be found as *komai*, rice, in Yap and the Marianne Islands, wherein Spanish explorers found the Chamorros,

the resident natives, with rice plantations long under cultivation. The Japanese *mai*, *gemmāi*, and *komāi*, represent rice in various forms, and the Formosan *somai* and *rumai* mean rice. Here, however, we again come upon that transference of the "grain" word to other fruits (as we saw under *para*), and we find that in Ponape, Mokil, Pingelap, Lamotrek, Satawal, and Uluthi, *mai* has become the name of the bread-fruit, and in German New Guinea the bread-fruit is *bai*. The *mai* changes to *mais*, bread-fruit, in Pulawat, to *mos* in Kusaie, to *mossi* in German New Guinea (dialect), and it seems only reasonable to expect that the Japanese *mosso* and *messi*, rice, *mochi*, rice-bread, are akin to these. But the Samoan *masi*, fermented bread-fruit, when compared with *mais* and *messi*, brings the word well into Polynesian, and shows that Mangarevan *mai-mai*, fermented bread-fruit, Futuna *mai*, bread-fruit, and *masi*, fermented bread-fruit, are almost certainly related to the Micronesian *mai*, bread-fruit, above quoted as at Ponape, etc. As to this idea of fermentation, I would point out that the Eromanga *ne mara* and Ponape *mar*, for fermented bread-fruit, resemble the words which (as *bar*, barley, beer; *marā*, crop, etc.) have been quoted in regard to fermented beverages, under *para*.*

The singular likeness of the word *mais* to Indian corn or maize (*zea mays*) would be looked on as a coincidence too childish to be called a comparison if it was certain that there was no possibility of Oceanic words having reached America, but there are too many arguments to consider on that point merely to pass over the suggestion with a sneer. Whether the word maize belongs to Hayti or not (it was probably not of Hayti only) it is certain that the sweet potato, the *kumara* of New Zealand, was known in America as *cumar*.†

*If Maori and Hawaiian had the word *masi* for the (fermented) bread-fruit, it would appear in those dialects, which do not use *s*, as *mahi*, and in Hawaii *mahi* means a cultivation, planting food, etc., just as in Maori *mara* means a cultivation, and *mahi* is to work. If *pai* was ever known in Maori as a "rice-word" (for *mai* or *bai*) it now means "good," (Salayer *baji*, good; Lariki *mai*, good), and probably forms one of the class of words derived from the root meaning to "love, praise, nourish; pleasant food," as we saw that *ava* did, and *para* also on certain lines of meaning. The Maori *reka*, sweet, *rekareka*, pleasant, is almost certainly the Malay *renga*, the Sugar-palm.

†I have already said that it is not impossible that the word *zea* (once the larger millet, and now *zea mays*) might be connected with Maori *tea*, white, since wheat, and other grain, was named from "white." It is not even certain that *kaanga*, the word the Maoris use for maize, was introduced with the grain itself. If *kaanga* is used instead of the English word "corn," the *ng* sound is not necessary. Moreover, the Maori had his own word *kano* for "kernel, a berry," etc. (*kakano*, a seed, pip, as in Mangarevan *kano kano*, a grain, berry, etc.), whilst "corn" and "kernel" are with us on the same Indo-European root. The name of grain could survive without the thing itself; in Polynesian Islands, where the dog had been long extinct the name *kuri* was kept traditionally, and was re-applied on seeing the animal. *Kaanga* seems curiously like the *kangu* and *kanku*, Sanscrit names of millet, introduced into China about 2800 B.C., but known immemorially in other parts of Asia and of Europe.

Having seen that *vari* (*pari*, *padi*, etc.) was a wide-spread name for rice, we will now note (as we did with *ava* and *para*) the transfer of the word to the sense of water, watery, etc. The Sanscrit *vari*, waters, streams, rivers (*varistha*, standing in water), appears to compare with Japanese *bari*, urine; Nufor (Torres Straits) *var*, water; Malagasy *faria*, a pool, *farihy*, a pool, pond, lake; Zend *vairi*, water; Mangareva *pari*, to flow, to run (said of blood); Dorey *waar*, water; Canarese *hari*, to flow as water (with latter c.f. Maori *hani*, water). Whether the Zend form *vairi*, water, grew into *vai*, water, by omission of the last syllable, or whether *vai*, water, is akin to the Sanscrit *vari*, water, but with a lost *r*, is perhaps impossible now to say, but it is certain that *vai* or *vai* is now the word in use over the whole area of the Pacific and Malay Archipelagos, except in a few islands where *ranu* or *dranu* became fashionable. Just, too, as *pari* changes to *padi*, so, in extremely ancient times, the Sanscrit form *vari*, a stream, might become Arabic *vady* or *wadi*, a water-course.

Where, however, in Oceania, *vari* held its own as meaning liquid, it acquired the character of denoting muddy liquid, mire, bog, slime, etc. Thus we find the Paumotuau *vari*, a marsh, dirt, mire; Tahitian *vari*, mud, mire; Rarotongan *vari*, mud: Mangaian *varivari*, muddy, etc. From this it passes, just as *para* did, into the meanings of soft, weak, feeble, glutinous, to smear, to paint, saliva, etc.

It is, however, not possible, in the different dialects, to make any sharp distinction between *vare* and *vari*, any more than in the existing names for rice can be found certainty whether the word should be *pari* or *pare*, or *vari*. All that is common is the root *far* or *var*. The Maori *wari*, a potato that has become watery from frost, and *ware*, viscous fluid, gummy, change senses and make compounds in other dialects. The Maori *haware* and *huware*, saliva, *mare*, phlegm, *maremaretai*, a jelly fish; Malagasy *faribava*, slaver; Mota *wali*, to form in lumps, to bubble up as fat in cooking, to harden in lumps as gum on trees; Tahitian *vari*, filth, dirt, *vare*, the matter of a diseased eye; Tongan *vare*, pus, purulent, *varevare*, glary, viscous, *vari*, dirt; Fijian *wali*, ointment, *waliwali*, oil; Mangarevan *vari*, pap or paste well diluted, *varivari*, pasty, sticky; Samoan *pala vale*, aqueous, to liquify; all these seem to show uncertainty of the final vowel. Hawaiian has both forms, *vale*, phlegm, mucus, *wali*, soft like paste; *waliwali*, soft, weak, limber.*

Before dismissing the subject lightly it would be well to remember that the Maoris have another name (certainly pure Maori) for maize besides *kaanga*, viz., *parati*, and this may be a compound of *para* (*bara*, bread) and *ti*, the cordyline palm. The Maoris steep maize in water to induce a slight fermentation, while the Pacific Islanders make *masi* by burying bread-fruit in the ground to ferment.

*If the Telugu, which has both *sare*, paste, gum, and *sari*, paste, are related to *vare* and *vari*, the letter change of *v* to *s* is quite irregular.

Again, *pare* in Maori, has a secondary meaning, viz., "to ward off." *Vara* has the same meaning in Sanscrit as seen in the phrase *varavana*, "warding off arrows," as applied to armour. *Vana*, an arrow, became in Polynesian *pana*, a bow, probably because an arrow was "child of the bow."

The compounds of *vari* that imply weakness, such as Maori *ngawari*, soft, kind, pliant; Tahitian *avari*, in a convalescent state, as a sick person; Hawaiian *navali*, sickly, feeble, *owali*, flexible; Tahitian *tavari*, soft, pulpy; Paumotuan *gavarivari*, to soften, to stagger, pass further to the sense of weak in intellect, foolish. Japanese *wari nai*, foolish; Malagasy *varivariana*, half-witted, bewildered, *kavaly*, a pretended fool; Tongan *vale*, ignorance, a fool, foolish; Futuna *vale*, a fool, ignorant, stupid, *vavale*, imbecile; Tahitian *vare*, to be deceived; Hawaiian *wale*, slobbering as an infant, *walewale*, to deceive, entrap, tempt, one set apart as defiled (note the coincidence with the Tongan form of *ava*, viz., *avaga*, to bewitch), *waliwali*, weak, faint; Maldive Islands *bali*, weak from sickness: Fijian *wale*, uselessly idle. In Maori *ware*, ignorance, *kuware*, a low-born man, stupid, *wareware*, forgotten, forgetful, *whaka-ware*, to beguile, mislead; Samoan *vale*, folly, worthless, inactive, *valea*, ignorant, *valevale*, fat, young, childish, *meavale*, the common people, anything vile or bad; Macassar *wali*, shameful, dishonest; Mangaian *vare*, to forget, *varea*, to be deceived. Mangarevan *ture-vare*, very ignorant; Sikayana (Stewart's Island) *faka-warea*, a fool. All these are words which, based on *var* as liquid or watery, pass to the meanings of weak, foolish, drivelling, vulgar, bad in intellect, or inferior of station. Curiously, however, they confirm the direct connection between *vari* and *vai*, as "water," by carrying the same secondaries, as may be seen in Tongan *vaivai*, weak, frail, helpless, imbecility; Maori *whaka-wai*, to beguile (c.f. *whaka-ware*, to beguile); Samoan *vaivai*, loose, as a rope, weak of the body, near death; Mangarevan *vaivai*, soft, humid. The Marquesan *vainai*, covered with coco-nut oil, and Fijian *waiwai*, coco-nut oil, are evidently related to Fijian *waliwali* oil, and probably with the original idea of softening, making pliant, pleasant, agreeable, as anointing material (*wali*, ointment).

Nor are the meanings already assigned to the root *FA* or *VA* (*FAR* and *VAR*), as crevice, fissure, division, etc., wanting to *vari* or *bari*, more than to *ava* or *para*. The Telugu *bari*, a line, boundary (*vari* in this dialect is paddy); Hawaiian *pale*, a fence-line, a division, *palepale*, to separate, *palena*, a boundary; Japanese *wari*, to split, divide, a crack fissure, *ware*, to be split, rent asunder, divided; Malay *palih*, to divide in two, *parit*, a ditch; Canarese *bai*, a crack, a crevice, the mouth; Holontalo *barisi*, a row, line; Sarawak *parit*, a ditch; Sunda *parigi*, a ditch; Dandai *parigona*, a ditch; Sanscrit *vali*, a line

or fold in the skin, a wrinkle; Malagasy *faria*, a small bank, the boundary of a rice field, *faritany*, a boundary, landmark; all these are signifying division. In the last quoted word, *tany* means earth soil, and is possibly related to the Melanesian *tana*, earth, land, and the Macassar *tana*, a rice field.

So also, as *para* lost its meaning of "grain" and became "fruit," *vari* lost its meaning of "rice" and became "fruit," etc. We have not only the Buka (Solomon Islands) *wali*, the coco-nut itself, where the coco-palm tree is *niu*, and Mota (Banks Islands) where *wari* is a kind of yam, but the Toaripi (New Guinea) *fare*, fruit, Motu Motu *fare*, fruit, and then, according to the before-noted change, it becomes Omba (New Hebrides) *wai*, fruit, and Quatvenua *wai*, fruit.

We saw that *vare* or *vari* meant gum, exudation, mucus, paste, etc. It passes through this stage to mean smear, to daub, to paint. Just as *para* became to daub, paint, so we find Tongan *vali*, paint, to smear; Tahitian *varihia*, to be smeared with dirt; Tanna *tafali*, paint; Malay *palit*, to smear, to streak or lay on with the fingers; Futuna *valivali* and *vavali*, to paint the body; Canarese *bali*, to put on as whitewash or pigment, to smear the floor of a house with cow-dung and water; Samoan *vali*, to paint, whitewash, plastered.

These words bring us to an interesting letter change of *l* (or *r*) to *n*. It is well marked in Polynesian, where the ordinary *rima* or *lima*, five, becomes Tongan *nima*, five, and in Hawaiian where *lina* and *nina* both mean soft. But in Maori, instead of *wari* (*vari*) or *pari*, to paint, we get *pani*, to paint, and in Mangarevan *pani*, to anoint, to oil; Samoan *pani*, to dye the hair. As in Samoan *panupanu*, to be daubed, smeared, compares with Maori *paruparu*, mud, and Mangarevan *paru*, spittle, etc., it shows that *pani* and *panu* are really on the *VAR* root (*FA*) with the other derivatives such as *pare*, *vari*, etc.

The connection of *pare* or *fare* with the Polynesian *fare* (or *whare* or *vale*), a house, is probably in its sense of enclosure, as in Zend *vara*, an enclosure. To the root *var*, to cover, overspread, is referred the name of the Sanscrit deity, the Heavens, as *Varuna*, the "All-encompasser." The Maori *whare* shows that (read with sister dialects) the idea is "to hang over, to cover, a sheltered enclosed place."

So says the old song:—

Tu ake au ki runga nei,
Ki te whare-hukahuka no Tangaroa.

Thus stand I above here
On the foam-house of Tangaroa (the Ocean god).
(i.e., On the curling wave.)

PART II.

If any reader has had the enormous patience to accompany the word arguments so far, he will probably at once lay his finger on the weak spot of the theory as it at present stands. As I see it, the doubtful place is this: It may be accepted that *hawa* (*ava, saba*, etc.) meant grain, water, and mud; that *para* or *pala* did the same thing; that *vari* did likewise; even that these words changed from the meaning of grain—no longer possessed—to the meaning of vegetables or fruits which had superseded grain as food. But where is the proof, or even partial evidence, that Polynesians knew the word *var* or *far* as rice? Absolute proof, certain as a mathematical proof, is impossible to produce when dealing with races without literature, or with only tradition to trust to. All that can be expected is that a series of probabilities should converge their lines to one focussing point, and show whether there is ground for believing that the Polynesians knew *vari* as rice. To do this I must quote from several authors.

First, I turn to Mr. S. Percy Smith's "Hawaiki." Mr. Smith, basing his opinion on tradition, quite distinct from any word-hunting, came to the conclusion that *vari* was once a name of rice. He suggests that the confusion of thought which confounded rice with mud, arose from the plant having been grown in muddy lands. He quotes a Maui legend, told in Rarotonga. It relates how the god Tangaroa "went to Avaiki-te-varinga, and dwelt there a long time. The food of Avaiki was *vari* only; that they ate. He dwelt with Ina, the daughter of Vai-takere, as a wife. The people of Avaiki had nothing to eat but *vari*; when Ina prepared food for herself and her husband she pulverised the *vari*; twelve balls—six for her husband, six for herself."

In this legend it is absurd to suppose that *vari* is to be read with its modern Rarotongan meaning of "mud." The story goes on to show how the *vari* was superseded by the *ui ara kakano* (meaning unknown), and by *kuru*, bread-fruit. Speaking of *Kahiki*, which may be meant for Tahiti, but is more probably some dim ancestral land, the poet says:—

Little by little, broken the food,
As the birds eat little by little.

Let us proceed to try to understand why the staple food of the ancestral land—abundant and growing luxuriantly, as we set out by showing from adage and legend—should be expressed by a word now meaning "mud."—

(1) The food might have been supposed to originate in the primeval mud, the traditional source of all things.

(2) It may have been because a name for grain which was usually grown in water or on irrigated lands, was confused with the name of the soil itself.

(8) It may have been a mere verbal error, through the word for mud being like that for grain.

(4) It may have been that the grain was used as a sticky porridge, the name of which was bestowed on anything viscous, stodgy, gummy, pasty, etc.

We will consider No. 1. In the first part of the ancient Hawaiian hymn of "The Creation" (*He Kumulipo*), it is said:

At the time of the night of Makalii (*Matariki*, Winter)
Then began the slime which established the earth,
The source of deepest darkness,
Of the depth of darkness,
Of the depth of darkness,
Of the darkness of the sun in the depth of night,
It is night.
So was night born.*

Speaking of Rarotonga and Mangaia, the Rev. W. Wyatt Gill says (*Myths and Songs of the South Pacific*, p. 21)—"These people imagined that once the world was a 'chaos of mud,' out of which some mighty unseen agent, whom they called Vari, evolved the present order of things." We hear of this Vari as *Vari ma te takere*, translated by Gill as "Vari, originator of all things." But Vari dwells in Avaiki, the Spirit-land.

Whence this unheard of power?
From the depths of Spirit-land,
From Vari, originator of all things. (p. 239)

This Avaiki is the land to which the dead go, and it lies to the westward—over the sea.

She has sped to Avaiki,
She disappeared at the edge of the horizon,
Where the sun drops through. (p. 179)

Gill adds—"To this day it is said of the dying at Rarotonga, 'So-and-so is passing over the sea.'" (p. 193.)

This, as a general statement, is true of all "the leaping-places of souls" in the Pacific. The Maori "leaping-place" is at the most

*The native poem is in the collection of the late King of Hawaii, H.M. Kalakaua I., "Na Mele Aimoku," and the translation by H.M. Liliuokalani, Ex-Queen of Hawaii, in "He Pule Hoolaa Alii." The original is:—

O ke au o Makalii ka po,
O ka walewale hoo-kumu honua ia
O ke kumu o ka lipo i lipo ai
O ke kumu o ka Po i po ai
O ka Lipolipo, o ka lipolipo
O ka lipo o ka La, o ka lipo o ka Po
Po wale ho—i—
Hanau ka po.

It will be noticed that the words here used for "slime," viz., *walewale* and *wale*, are the very words we have considered interesting as once meaning grain.

northern (probably north-western) point of their islands, but that is because it lies south of the soul-track.*

We may safely infer that it was over the sea, to the westward, that Vari was to be found, and that though in Rarotonga *vari* now means mud, the Vari referred to was some object or condition that "evolved the present order of things." From the mythical Vari the gods of heaven and earth proceeded, and the name is used as a synonym for "The very beginning," hence, as *vari* means mud, the notion that all things originated in a chaos of mud.

It is, however, in India that we get the interpretation of the riddle. Vari was the personification of the Saraswati River, and remains a river-goddess in the Hindu Pantheon. But her name, which signified "watery"—as it still does in Maori—had a far greater significance in history and mythology than it is now regarded with. The Saraswati was one of the boundaries of the original home of the Aryans (see Dobson's Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology, p. 284), and was a sacred river to them, as the Ganges was to their descendants. Her waters were fertilising and purifying—she was the bestower of fatness and wealth, the Great Mother. She afterwards became Vach, the goddess of speech and eloquence,† but not in the primitive days of the Rig Veda—only in later times; and so, by confusion with the "cow-word" *vach* or *vacca*, she became "the melodious cow, who milks forth sustenance and water"; "the queen of the gods"; "she who yields nourishment." Originally, however, she was greater than any of the gods, for it was through Vari's sexual connection with Prajapati (the Universe), that the waters and rivers were created; a more natural view than the Rarotongan, with which Vari, in herself, originated all things, the active gods being only pieces torn from her body. But, even then, they are companioned by the Greek philosopher who taught "From water all things."‡

Although in Rarotonga and Mangaia Avaiki is regarded as the Spirit-world,§ in New Zealand it is much more commonly spoken of as a far-off place, still in existence. Here and there, however, in song, proverb, and legend, there accrues some reference showing that to the Maori, Hawaiki was also the Spirit-land, the place of ghosts. Best

* And because it was the nearest land to that from which they came.—**ERROR.**

† See philological part of this paper (under *awa*) for *vaha*, the mouth, speech, etc., being Sanscrit *vach*.

‡ In a Maori genealogy in my possession, Wariwari is given as third in descent from Tiki (the Creator; or, as some say, the first man created); in Samoa Fali appears as "one of the children of the First Parents" (Turner's "Samoa," p. 222).

§ But only in the sense that Spirits of the dead returned thither, i.e., to the Father-land.—**ERROR.**

quotes a proverb in regard to the company of the dead: "When we bid farewell to a dead person, we say, 'Farewell! Go to Hawaiki, to the Po-wherikoriko. Farewell!'" (Poly. Journal IX., 182.) In a legend, given by Colenso, it is said, "Then that boy went quickly below, to the unseen world (*reinga*), to observe and look about at the steep cliff in Hawaiki. There he expressed his admiration at the beauty of the *kumara*" (Trans. N.Z. Inst. XIII., 40).

Fornander, speaking of Hawaii, says, in reference to the word *lepo*, moist earth (in Maori, *repo*, a swamp), that the proverb, *Ua hele i ka wai lepo lepo*, "he has gone to the moist earth (or muddy water)," is used in mention of a dead person, in the sense "return to the dust of which he was made." The body of man was made of red mud (*lepo ula* or *alaea*), and the spittle of the gods. So, perhaps, as man was first made in Hawaiki or Avaiki, to say, "He is gone to Hawaiki" would mean "returned to dust." This Avaiki, read by the light of the words already compared (under *ava*), and in the meaning of "forgotten, absent, lost, in a distant place, no longer visible," would soon cease to be regarded as an actual locality, but would become the place to which the souls of men, "no longer seen," would naturally pass away as to their long home.

The idea that all things emerged from the primeval mud is one which is well known to classical and Oriental scholars. Sanchoniathon says the Phœnicians described the beginning as a chaos of black mud; in Egypt, the Alluvial Land, nothing could be more natural than to ascribe man's emergence into being as the result of spirit uniting with the fertile mire of the Nile valley. It will be noted that (as above said of Hawaii) there was a widely spread notion that soil or dirt was the substance of which Deity created human beings. At the Banks Islands it is told, "Man was made from the red clay from the marshy riverside at Vanua Lava" (Codrington: "The Melanesians," 158). Ellis, speaking of a similar belief in Tahiti, says that out of red earth (*araea*) man was made, and that this earth was also the food of man till bread-fruit was made (Poly. Res. II., 38); so that in Tahiti, as in Barotonga, it was believed that the bread-fruit superseded the original mud (*vari*), or dirt food.

The Maoris say of the Creator, "The mud he made into a woman for himself" (White: Ancient History Maori I., 158). Again, "An aquatic plant (*pare-tao*) growing in swamps,* was the male procreating power which engendered the red clay, seen in landslips, whence came the first man" (White l. c. I., 154). The Hebrew legend of Adam, whose name is said to mean "Red earth," hardly needs to be alluded

*Was this *pare-tao* (growing in damp places) named in memory of that *pare*, or paddy, still known in a hundred widely scattered localities as the name of growing rice?

to, so well is it known to us all. The idea that man was formed of dust lingered long in the Orient. Even so late as the time the Mahometan religion was born, it caused the writer of the Koran to say, "Dost thou not believe in Him who created thee of dust, and afterwards of seed, and then fashioned thee into a perfect man? But as for me, Allah is my Lord" (Sale's Koran, ch. xviii). Note, however, that there was more than dust, there was seed, and *vari* means both. So the Samoans say, "Seed-stone and Earth were the parents of men" (Poly. Journal I., 185).*

The Polynesian idea that the shades of the dead feed on mud, worms, etc., is an old Asiatic one. That those who go down to the worm and corruption should have disgusting food is almost certain to be thought of by those of logically imaginative mind. Therefore the land from which ancestors have come, and to which our relatives go, whether Avaiki or another, is a land where people eat mud. So in the Akkadian or Babylonian legend, when Ishtar descended to the Shades to procure the Water of Life, she went to "The place where dust is their bread, and their food is mud" (Sayce: The Religion of the Ancient Babylonians, p. 221). In Mangaia the souls of those who have not died in battle were taken by the goddess Miru, the hell-goddess, and fed on red earth-worms, centipedes, etc.

It must be left for scholars to express opinion, whether the idea of their ancestors (all dead people) feeding on mud is an allusion to the original staff of life being the primeval mud out of which all things came, or the mud eaten by the dead in the House of Corruption.

(2) Was the name of a grain generally grown in water confused with the name of the mud itself?

We have shown that in very many cases the same word was used for the grain, and the soil in which it grew. Since the words used for rye, barley, wheat, millet, etc., in Europe and Asia, and for rice in Asia, were all transferable (*ava, para, bara, pari, vari, etc.*), and were all connected with "water," there would seem to be a strong inference that grain was first improved from wild grasses in some warm climate where irrigation was necessary. But it should not be forgotten that probably these words originally meant, not grain, but any cultivated crop (or enclosure), even fodder (*yava*) and meadow-grass being included.

(8) Was there mere verbal confusion of the words for grain and mud through word-likeness, quite apart from the fact of lands being irrigated or not?

*In a legendary cosmogony of the Maori, given by Taylor in *Te Ika a Maui*, he tells us that in the stages of evolution, after "the conception," "the opening," etc., comes "*Ko te Pia*," "*Ko te Ware*," "*Ko te Hua*." He translates this as "The Manna" (sugar), "The Resin" (thickening), "The Fruit." If translated into Polynesian it would mean, "The Arrowroot," "The Ware" (rice?), "The Egg."

A similar source of mistake is so frequent during the stress of centuries on a language, that it becomes one of the most common causes of error. For instance (a homely instance), it was a puzzle to Maori scholars for some time, why the European sickle was called *toronaihi*, until it was found that the word was the corruption of a sailor-English word, "draw-knife," a tool used by whalers; whalers having preceded agriculturalists in the acquaintance of the Maori. Granting that in the coral lands and poorly watered isles of the South Seas, rice would be an unsuitable crop, the name for it would almost certainly be applied to something else, even of so apparently different a character as slime or mud, especially as words of resembling sound had always been in use for water, marsh, etc.

(4) Was the grain commonly cooked into a sticky or glutinous porridge, and the name thence transferred to any viscous, pap-like, slimy mess, eventually to mud?

In my opinion this question applies to the probable case. That grain should be ground in a mill and made into bread implies the invention of the mill or quern (however rude), and a baking oven, or some substitute for one. By far the most primitive method one can think of is that the grain should be husked by heating or pounding until crushed, mixed with water into paste, and then steamed in the earth-oven. The earth-oven (a hole with hot stones on which water is poured, and the earth banked over) is found all over the world among savages, from Dartmoor to Rarotonga, while cooking utensils, and the baking-oven, are products of far higher civilisation. It may have been noticed in the philological part of this paper that, in Mangareva, *vari* means pap or paste (*maa*, the common native food) well diluted; that *varivari* means pasty, sticky; that Hawaiian *wali* means soft, like paste. Even if we take the traditional account given by Mr. S. Percy Smith, as descriptive of the actual process, we find that Lua, in preparing the *vari*, made it into balls before cooking, as if it was in the form of paste. I think it highly probable that porridge was in use before baked bread, and that if *vari* meant rice in Avaiki, as it certainly did, and does in Madagascar and Southern India, it was not baked in the far-back primitive days, but was used as *masi* or *mai*, or whatever other name (all rice names) the Polynesians give to their "stir-about." That is probably why the widely-spread Polynesian word *palu*, for mud, is, in Tongan, *balu*, to mix with the hands; *balua*, to beat to a pulp; *baluji*, paste; and Samoan *palu*, to mix, to stir together with the hands.

That rice has been cultivated for ages is certain from its own inherent evidence, as in no other case could it have been developed into the more than two hundred varieties known to Eastern grain-

merchants. Howitt* says of the matriarchal tribes of India, "It was in Asia Minor, or Northern Palestine, where they apparently first found out how to make the grasses developed into wheat and barley, good substitutes for their Indian grass developed into rice, . . . and it was in Asia Minor that they met the fire-worshipping races or Phrygia, who were worshippers of the Linga before they worshipped fire. . . . It was these phallic-worshippers, and the fire worshippers, who introduced magic and witchcraft, and added the worship of the mother Magha to that of the village-mother. It was they who are known in Indian history as the Maghadas who introduced the growth of millets into India as upland crops. They were followed by the growers of barley, who are the race from whom the Ooraons claim to be descended. . . . They are keen traders, and are so named in the Rig Veda, but the word *pani*, by which they are designated, means "avaricious" as well as a trader, and this reproach the worst specimens of the race thoroughly deserve."

This extract has many points of interest for us. There are strong traces of fire-worship (sun-worship) and phallic worship among the Maoris. Whether the forefathers of the Polynesians ever adored the phallus or not, they preserved the Indian word *linga* for phallus (penis), as we may find it in the Tongan vocabulary.† We are told by Howitt that, among the edible grains of India, rice was first known, then millet, then barley. One curious part of the extract from Maori students is that the barley-growing people were called *Pani*. I have shown that the word *vari* or *pari* changes into *pani*, and if we turn to legend we find that *Pani* was personified in Maoriland, as *Vari* was personified in Barotonga and India. I have quoted from a legend of the Maoris to the effect that the sweet potato (*kumara*) grew in Hawaiki (the unseen world), that is, in the home of *Vari*. There is another Maori tradition that the *kumara* root was almost destroyed, but was saved by taking refuge "in the belly of *Pani*"—her stomach was the food-store of the *kumara*. She was the wife of *Tiki*, the first man, which only means she was of vast antiquity. "From *Pani* came the several sacred forms of words used ceremonially by the wise men at planting and harvesting the *kumara*. It was through *Pani* that "the *kumara* was procured for the use of man." If it be remembered that the *kumara* was supposed to be the ancestral food of (one branch of) the Maori race, and that, as I have tried to point out, it probably only meant "cultivated food" at first, the story that *pani*,

* "The Ruling Races of Prehistoric Times," vol. I., 60.

†Marriner, in the earliest vocabulary of Tongan extant, so gives it, and the French Marist Missionary Dictionary also, but the Rev. Shirley Baker, in his Dictionary, does not, probably from clerical reasons, as *linga* is a "prohibited" word.

or traders, introduced grain (*bara*. or *yava*) into India becomes of interest, especially as they represented a race which is said also to have introduced the religious (magical) ceremonies, before unknown. Best says (Ancient Maoriland, p. 5) that Pani was a very ancient ancestor, and adds, "To Pani tinaku belonged the food of Hawaiki, that is to say, the *kumara*. This is the reason that that land was called Hawaiki, because of the abundance of the food there. Again (page 7) he says, *Ko te hūhūa o nga kai, koia Hawaiki*, which I read as "The abundance of food, that is Hawaiki." It may be noticed by students that *hawai* and *para* are given by Best (p. 9) as among the kinds of food eaten by the Maori when Hoaki and Taukata brought the *kumara* to them. The *kumara* was called *ti-male*, at Nuiē (Savage Island), as maize was called *para-ti* in New Zealand. The *kumara* of ancient times is scarcely likely to be the edible convolvulus (*Ipomœa batata*) we now know as *kumara*. Names of foods get transferred from one staple to another, and there has not yet been found a locality where the sweet potato of the Maori "grows wild among the fern."

One of the main questions we should try to settle is, "Did the Maori ever live in a land of wet moist lands, or of lands cultivated by irrigation?" There is good reason to suppose that he did so. Fornander (I., 78) speaks of the lost Polynesian Paradise, Pali-uli (again our word *pari* or *vari*) as a

Land with springs of water, fat and moist,
Land greatly enjoyed by the god.

That the Polynesians were well acquainted with irrigation is proven by the works they executed, and remains of which are still in evidence. The water-races in Hawaii (see Smith's "Hawaiki," p. 28), the extensive ditches at Pelorus and the Thames in New Zealand, and the irrigated cultivations of Tahiti, Rarotonga, Samoa, etc. (for growing *taro*), show that they perfectly understood the methods of leading water for growing crops.

The connection (probable) between the Hawaiki of the Maori and Java has been commented on by very many, particularly by two authorities, Logan and Fornander. Fornander goes further, and traces Hava up to Saba of the Cushites. I will not try to proceed so far backwards (at present) as this, merely adding that Howitt, speaking of these Sabans (Arabians), says, "It was not till they had reached the "wet land" of the Euphratean delta, and afterwards of the Punjaub, that they learnt the religion of the fire-cross, etc. In Crawford's "Dictionary of the Indian Islands" (p. 368), under the word "Java," he tells us that the legendary origin of the name among the Javanese themselves is from the native word for millet (*panicum italicum*) "which according to them was the first food of the original inhabitants"; so that, in the belief of the Javanese themselves, the

land was named for "grain." He says further, "The name which we apply to it is correctly Jawa, and is derived from that of the principal nation which inhabits it. The word cannot stand by itself, and like many similar ones in the languages of the Archipelago, is as often an adjective as a noun. When the country is referred to, it is preceded by some word signifying "land," and when it is the people, their language, or anything else, by words having these meanings, as Siti-Jawa, "the land of Java"; Wong-Jiwa, "Javan people." On mentioning this quotation to Mr. Percy Smith, he has shrewdly suggested that the *Siti* (in Siti-Jawa) would in Polynesian be *Hiti*, and it may be this word which enters so largely into Polynesian locality names, such as Tahiti, Viti, etc.

Crawfurd calls attention to an "absurd and extravagant" European etymology for Java, which states that it was named from *jau*, barley, because, he says, barley does not and never did grow in Java. Respectfully, I urge that this remark misses the point. It is probable that barley did not grow in Java, but *yawa* or *java* was a name for "grain," not for barley only (as I have shown), and was probably introduced and adopted as meaning "grain," since *saba* is still the Burmese for rice, and *ava* Japanese for millet.

Crawfurd also notes that the ancient Chinese name of Java was *Che-po* or *Cha-po*. Whether this was the original name, before the Malay immigration, may be investigated further. It may have only been an attempt to say "Java," but *Te Po* is a name at the very fountain-head of Polynesian cosmogony.

We must not be too sure that the modern Java of the Sunda Islands is the original Java. Marco Polo refers both to Sumatra and Java as *Ciawa*. The Arabs called the islands of the Archipelago generally, Jawa, but the name was especially applied by them to Sumatra. Logan says that the Bugis apply the name Jawa-jawaka to the Moluccas. It is, however, possible that the Hawa (Hawaiki) of the Polynesians in Malaysia, was only a transitory stopping place, and the exact locality is not of extreme importance. What is of more consequence is, that, if the philological part of my paper is accepted, it was here that *ava* and *vari* lost their meanings as "grain" and kept only the sense of mud or slime.

Logan (l. c. 174) says of Java, "These watered lands are known by the name of *sawah* to distinguish them from the dry fields known by the names of *tagal* and *umah*." This latter word is not unknown in the Pacific, or in Europe. It is the Malay *luma*, a field, plantation, *rumah*, a house. It is the Baju *rumah*; San Christoval, *ruma*; New Britain, *luma*, etc., all meaning "house." It is also an Aryan word, our English "room," used in modern times for "chamber"; but Skeat says, "The older meaning is simply 'space,' hence a place at

table." We say, "Make room," for "Give more space." It is the Icelandic *rum*, space; Old High German *rum*, space, all (*vide* Skeat) on the Teutonic *RU-MA*, spacious. This sense of the word appears in Polynesia as Samoan *luma*, in front of, *luma-fale*, the space in front of a house, *luma-ava*, a morning meal in public. Codrington ("The Melanesians," p. 304) says, "It is not by any accident that a dry garden, as opposed to an irrigated one, is called *uma* in Sumatra and the New Hebrides." The Sanscrit *vara* also means "space," "room."

Logan (l.c. 368) writing under "Rice," says, "In Java the land is permanently laid out into small chequered fields of a perch or so each, surrounded by a dyke not exceeding a foot high, to retain the water which is frequently supplied by brooks and rivers. This is the kind of land properly known by the name of *sawah*. In Featherman's "Social History of the Races of Mankind," p. 321, he, writing of the agriculture of Battahs, says, "In the *sawas*, or marsh lands, which are artificially irrigated, the rice is first sown broadcast, in small beds, and after a growth of fourteen days the small sprouts are transplanted in parallel rows in the prepared fields, which are regularly flooded. . . . The water supply is mostly regulated by the natural conditions of the ground, with but little artificial aid; in some parts of the country, however, the fields are bordered by straight canals, which are from three to four miles long, and since the water is higher than the surface of the adjoining fields, it permeates through the banks and keeps the crop in a moist condition."

It is easy to see, from the above quotations, why the name of *ava* or *sava* should become not only a name for wet land, for ditch, water-course, etc., but also for a line or row (of plants), for bank, fence, division, etc. What is not so easy to convey to the reader is the "squashiness" of a wet rice country; the plashing buffaloes, the inundated fields, the sets of rice planted out by men standing in the flooded fields. I would refer enquirers to that most beautifully illustrated book, "Burma," by Max and Bertha Ferrars, and ask them to note such pictures as "Ploughing Wet Ground with Buffalo," and "Putting out the Rice Plants." The authors of this work say (p. 54) "Rice in the husk is called *saba* (English paddy). The grain keeps best in the husk, and is stored in bins (*sabaji*) of bamboo wattle, smeared with clay." Thus *sabaji* means "rice-holder," and the word in the mouth of Samoans would be Savaii, which is their rendering of Hawaiiki or Avaiki. Again, the authors of "Burma," say (p. 52), "The buffalo-pen is made near the house, if possible in a water-logged spot, where the animals can wallow in the mud which protects them from the bites of gad-flies and mosquitoes. . . . They frequent the streams and lagoons."

Howitt (l.c. pref. xxxiii.) remarks that Kore, the name of Corn-baby, represents the seed-grain. This Corn-baby is the last sheaf tied in the harvest-field, and Frazer ("The Golden Bough," II., 217) shows that this is a representation of Proserpine, who is in Greek called Kore, "the maiden." But Howitt also points out that, as "the seed of life," she is identical with Bahu or Bohu, the Void. Sayce says, of this latter personage (l.c. 262), that she was the great Mother-Deep, and "represented the waters of the abyss in their original chaotic state, before they were reduced to order by the creator Ea. She seems to have been the Bohu of Genesis, the Baau of the Phœnician Sanchoniantion, whose Greek interpreter identifies her with the night, and makes her the mother of the first mortal man. The Semitic Bohu, however, was no deity, much less a goddess; the word signifies merely "emptiness." The Greeks and Romans continued this idea, as we may find in Diodorus Siculus (I., l.c. vii.), in which Night is personified as the source of all things—the passive productive principle of the universe.*

Bohu, or Bau, representing "Night," is most probably the Tongan Bo, or Maori Po, the Night. The Maori cosmogony begins at Kore, "the void," and next proceeds to Po, "the Night." I consider that the words have too rational a sense in the Polynesian mind to mean anything but their most plain and direct signification. "Out of the Void, through Darkness, to Light" is the orderly and the traditional sequence. Therefore, if Bo or Po (Night) became a personage, either as "the Mother," or as "the Black Ox," or if Kore became the daughter of Ceres, and as such "the Seed-corn," these are only later growths of myth and fancy, perhaps arising from Bo also meaning "ox," and Kore, "maiden." But it is curious that *Kore*, one of the Maori "names of origin," should be used elsewhere for "seed-corn."

There is one meaning of *ava*, as used in the South Seas, which has not yet been treated of, viz., as the slightly intoxicating and fermented beverage obtained from the masticated or bruised roots of the pepper-tree (*piper methysticum*). In Tahiti it is called *ava*, in Hawaii *awa*, but it is more generally known as *kava*, and it is only called *ava* in dialects which have lost the true *k*. It is formed, in my opinion, on the root *KAV*, to chew or ruminate,† and I only introduce it in this

*Just as Vari was to the Indians, and the "Very Beginning" to the Rarotongans. As she was really "no deity," that may account for no altars being erected to her in Rarotonga, though altars were erected to her children, the gods.

†It is not to be understood that, in any suggestion made in this article. I retreat from my former position in regard to "cow-words" in Polynesian. The Polynesian *kau*, to swim, and *vaka*, a canoe, are (as cow and vacca) part of the ancient Indo-European cattle-language, because the water-buffalo was the water-crossing and water-wallowing creature. By its aid, when living, they crossed the flood; later,

form to allow further notice of the intoxicants prepared for fermentation. In Formosa a drink named *boar* is prepared by chewing rice and barley, and with the spittle making an intoxicant. In Motu *kava* means to be crazed; in Macassar *kawa* is coffee, evidently from the Arabic *quahveh*, or Persian *qahwah*, coffee. But in Maori *kawa* means a small bed in a garden, just as *awa* does—so the *k* may be excrescent. In the South Seas *ava* or *kava* is essentially a ceremonial drink. Not only is a “*kava*-drinking” a solemn affair, but sometimes a distinctly religious ceremony. In Samoa, if sickness occurred in a family, a libation of *ava* was poured out on the ground to the honour of the gods. It was supposed originally to have come from heaven, and drink offerings were poured out in times of plenty. In Hawaii *ava* was a sacrificial offering, and a sign of worship. In Mangaia, offerings of chewed *kava* were made to Tane arua moana. In Ponape the betel-nut, for chewing, is carried in a wrapper which is called *kavakava-atua** (*atua*, god). We have already seen, on the authority of Skeat, that the roots *MAD*, to chew, and *MAD*, to be drunk, originally had the sense of “to be wet.” Howitt (l.c. I., 479), speaking of “the men of the red race, the sons of the father-god Ra,” says that they, pushing eastward to India, “repudiated the intoxicated inspiration of the spirit-drinking prophets of the Kushite race . . . who substituted the male god Soma for the mother-moon Sina-vali.” The Polynesians certainly know the mother moon as Sina or Hina, but it is here joined with that other name of the great mother Vari or Vali. Howitt adds that the Sindhava, an ancient name of India (Sindhu is the River Indus, and from Sindhu comes Hindustan), was named for the moon-god Sin (of Babylon).

If we turn again to Howitt for an explanation of his expression “intoxicated inspiration,” we shall find a description of Indian “fire-walking” (as still practised in Polynesia), and how ardent spirits were drunk by the wizard-priests. These spirits were “made from rice fermented after it had been boiled.” It is still called in hymns *madhu*, once distilled from honey, and known to Western people as mead. At the sun-feasts the young men and women of the Ho Kol “go round successively from village to village for weeks together, drinking and dancing in each, and singing songs derived from antiquity,” a custom resembling the Areoi festivals in Tahiti. In the Ho Kol ceremonies to deceased ancestors, the offerings made were of rice to the earliest

they used the inflated hides for rafts (as they still do on the Tigris and Indus rivers), and later still the hide, stretched over bent pieces of wood, formed the coracle, and was the mother of the boat and ship. The Maori *ngau*, to chew, is the Chinese *ngau*, a cow, and the idea of “ruminant,” in the word *kau*, stretches over all Europe and Asia, except where *vak* or *vach* took its place.

*Which is the present name for that variety of *kawa* which in drunk in Rarotonga.—EDITOR.

"fathers," and of parched barley or roasted corn to the later "fathers." The grain offered to the latter, the *parisnut*, had to be bought of a long-haired man, a sign of the northern race.

In conclusion, I will deal briefly with another name of the "cradle land," besides Hawaiki and Varinga. That name is Asia or Atia. It is often mentioned in the South Seas, sometimes in connection with Vari, as Atia te Varinga, which Mr. Smith translates as "Atia the be-riced." Dr. Fraser printed (*Poly. Journal* VI., 25), in an old Samoan creation-chant, the line, "The *fono* (council) of Asia, the *fono* of Assembly," and adds in a note, "the name Asia or Atia occurs also in the traditions of the Rarotongans, for they say that their ancestor-land was in Atia." Mr. F. W. Christian, dealing with the Marquesas, also called the attention of scholars to Asia being an ancient place-name of the Polynesians. Gill ("Savage Life in Polynesia," p. 39) says that the native account of Atia was that it was "an enclosure,"* out of which the primary gods of Rarotonga came. It thus agrees with the Zend *vara*, enclosure, the Paradise from which the original Aryans came, or wherein they once abode (see the Zend Avesta).

The word in Greek is sometimes written as Asia,† sometimes Asis. Unable in any book to which I could gain access, to obtain an etymology of "Asia," I applied for help to Professor Wall, of Christchurch College. He replied, in a letter to me, as follows: "Asia was a town in Lydia, and the name was thence extended to include the whole of Asia Minor, in 129 B.C., at the foundation of the Roman Province, and thence applied to the whole continent. The Lydian town was called Asis, and as there is a Greek word *asis* (ἄσις) meaning "mud," "slime," I suppose this to have been the origin of the town's name."

I am aware of the remarks of Herodotus (*Mel.* IV., 45) on the subject, but they were mere repetitions of hearsay, and his derivation of the word from Asia, the wife of Prometheus, is hardly more valuable than that from Asia, the wife of the Pharoah, who brought up Moses, or from Asia, the wife of the Pharoah, who "knew not Joseph."

If we turn to Pliny's "Natural History," xviii., 16, we shall find that, among the Taurini, rye was called *asia*. We have already seen that rye and rice are the same word originally, though applied differently by Eastern and Western peoples, and that it meant "grain." There is no suggestion here that the Polynesians ever knew Asia by its name as a Roman province—only that a place name of the ancient Polynesians meant both "grain" and "mud." If then *hava*, *para*,

*See "Hawaiki," the glorious place built by Tu-te-rangi-marama.—EDITOR.

†Asia in Pindar, O. 7. 34; Soph. O. C. 694; but Asis in Æschy. Pers. 270, Supp. 547.

rari, and *asia*, all meant "grain" and "mud," shall we not regard it as a most extraordinary coincidence that these words should be given as the birth-place of the Polynesian race?

I do not insist that my hypothesis as to the place-names being food-names is the truth. I have in the most incomplete way (and one I feel to be distressingly feeble) presented a collection of data which may support the hypothesis. I hope the subject will receive consideration from those able to treat it, not so much in criticism as with judicial severity. Voluminous as the notes I have given are, I feel sure that there are whole fields of evidence omitted (even within my knowledge), if I could only survey them and present their valuable products to others.



THE OCCUPATION OF WAI-RARAPA BY NGATI-KAHU-NGUNU.

By S. PERCY SMITH.

N GATI-KAHU-NGUNU is the general name of the tribe that now occupies the Wairarapa district, but there are many sub-tribes who are known by various names included within that cognomen. Roughly speaking, it may be said that this tribe occupies all the East coast of New Zealand from Cook's Straits to the Mahia Peninsula, and inland as far as the Remu-taka, Tararua, Ruahine, Kai-manawa, and Ahi-manawa Mountains, and the continuation of those ranges northwards, to Wai-kare-moana Lake. They thus occupy a much larger area, and are a more numerous tribe than any other in the Colony.

But Ngati-Kahu-ngunu have not always lived in this territory. Prior to their appearance on the scene, many other tribes—some now extinct—have occupied the same area, but have been driven out or become absorbed in the existing tribe. Some of these prior inhabitants belonged to the *tangata-whenua*, or aboriginal tribes found here on the arrival of the fleet of canoes from Tahiti and Rarotonga, circa 1350. Most of the history of these original people has now become lost in the mists of the past, though occasionally a few references to them are found in the traditions of the later occupants. Amongst these earliest tribes was the great Tini-o-Awa people, who have played such an important part in many districts of New Zealand. They take their name—"the many of Awa"—from the youngest son of Toi-kai-rakau, who was named Te Awa-nui-a-rangi, and who flourished, according to the best genealogies, about 27 generations ago. Little is known of their history in these parts, but they were a very numerous people when first the Ngati-Kahu-ngunu made their appearance in the time

of Taraia and Rakai-hiku-roa, the chiefs who led the first migration from Poverty Bay to Hawke Bay, fighting their way through the Wairoa district and on to Here-taunga (which name includes all the country around Napier, Hastings, etc.). Rakai-hiku-roa led his party from Poverty Bay, by way of Te Mahia Peninsula, and fought his way through to the Wairoa, where they were joined by a second party who had come inland from the same place, under Taraia. At the Wairoa River the people of the place—who were probably some of the *tangata-whenua* tribe of Ngati-Ruapani—refused the invaders the loan of canoes to cross the river. Upon this, Taraia and his friends engaged in some undertaking, the nature of which was forgotten by my informant,* but which greatly excited the curiosity of the opposing people, so much so, that they manned a canoe and sent it across the river to ascertain what was going on. This canoe was captured by Taraia, who thus secured to his people a means of crossing this formidable river.

Leaving the bulk of the party with the women and children at the Wairoa,† Taraia, with a few chosen men, started on an exploring expedition to spy out the strength of the people occupying Here-taunga. At the mouth of the river now named the Esk, he found a numerous people occupying the Kai-mata and Heipipi *pas*—both of which are still in a fair state of preservation, the first situate on the hills directly south of where the Napier-Wairoa coach road junctions with the Esk Valley road, and the second on the limestone hills, about one-fourth of a mile north of the present village of Petane, and overlooking the Napier-Wairoa Road.

The people of this part were very numerous, but like all the *tangata-whenua*, not such able warriors as the descendants of the great migration of 1850. Taraia, finding Heipipi *pa* too strong to be stormed by his small force, resorted to a stratagem to cause the occupants of the *pa* to come forth, and thus give him a better chance. At early dawn a number of his warriors, dressed in their dark mats, proceeded to the beach, which is about three-eighths of a mile from Heipipi, and there laid down just at the edge of the breakers, imitating the action of seals.‡ Directly this was observed from the *pa* a number of unarmed men rushed down to secure the prey, upon which Taraia's

*I obtained some of these particulars from Judge Mackay—probably the Wairoa incident was the "Tiekitia," Hine-kura's *haka*, mentioned in the song, *supra*. I may add that the Society hopes shortly to publish a translation of a somewhat full account of the reasons which led these people to migrate from Poverty Bay.

†It seems probable that the old Chief Rakai-hiku-roa remained with those left behind at the Wairoa, and came on subsequently with them to Here-taunga.

‡One story says *haku*, a large fish; another, a whale.

warriors arose and commenced killing the people of the *pa*. The other people of Heipipi had lined the steep seaward face of the *pa*, watching the operations below, no doubt with pleasant anticipations of the feast of seal-flesh which was to follow. On seeing, however, the supposed seals rise up, and commence killing their relatives and friends, a great shout arose, and a messenger was despatched to Tu-nui-o-rangi, their Chief, and *tohunga* (or priest), a man gifted, according to his descendants, with wonderful powers of *makutu*, or sorcery. He was lying in a little cave in the limestone rocks that strew the ground near the *pa*, which is to be seen to this day, but came forth at once, and, calling on his *atua*, Kahu-kura, exercised his powers to save the remnant of his people fleeing across the flat from their enemies. The *atua* caused flames to start up in front of the pursuers, and blast them,

Tu-nui-a-rangi
Whakapapa
Ngatata
Te Ao-maru
Rangi-rawake
Taranga
Te Arai-hua
Pukupuku
Tu-tawhanga
Henare-Pohio
Te Teira-te-Paea
Anaru-Kume

thus stopping the pursuit, and by which many of them were burnt up. Such is the story told by Henare Pohio, the descendant of Tu-nui-o-rangi, and the present chief of ———— *pa*, just north of the Esk River.

Whatever may have been the real cause of Taraia's defeat, the fact remains that he abandoned the attempt to take Heipipi, and travelled on southward with his party, until he came to the Tutae-kuri, a few miles up which river he found Te Tini-o-Awa, and the

Maru-iwi tribes, living in immense *pas*, the remains of which are still to be seen at Otarata and other places. Taraia and his friends attacked the upper *pa* and took it, and then made peace with those living in the lower *pa*.

Ngati-Kahu-ngunu had now secured a footing in the rich district of Here-taunga, and therefore sent back to the Wairoa for the women and children, and the warriors left behind. They came in several canoes, and after a fight with the *tangata-whenua* at Aro-paoa-nui, proceeded up the Tutae-kuri River as far as the *pa* of Te Tini-o-Awa. This latter people, on seeing the numbers in his canoes, imagined that Taraia had returned with a stronger force for the purposes of exterminating them. The Maru-iwi people fled northward, eventually reaching Poverty Bay, from whence they moved on over the mountains to Opotiki, thence to Te Wai-mana River, where they settled for a time, but were eventually driven out by Ngati-Awa, and migrated up the Rangi-taiki Valley, down the Wai-punga, and finally disappeared as a tribe near the place called Te Pohue, on the Napier-Taupo road—disappearing, as the old song says, down a deep chasm as they fled in the dark :—

Ko te heke ra o Maru-iwi, toremi ai ki te reinga.

(Like the) descent of Maru-iwi, who disappeared to Hades.

The story of Maru-iwi is a long and interesting one, but is not further connected with this sketch.

Te Tini-o-Awa, in their alarm at Taraia's approach, abandoned their *pa*, and fled for safety to the impenetrable forests of Tamaki, or the Seventy-mile Bush, where they settled down for a time with the *tangata-whenua* tribe of Te Tini-o-Rua-tamore, who then occupied the numerous *pas* eastward of the present town of Dannevirke, in the country known as Nga-paeruru. Te Tini-o-Awa were found dwelling there by the Rangi-tane tribe, some time later, and were driven from there, migrating southwards to Ihu-raua, Pahaoa, etc., in mid-Wairarapa.

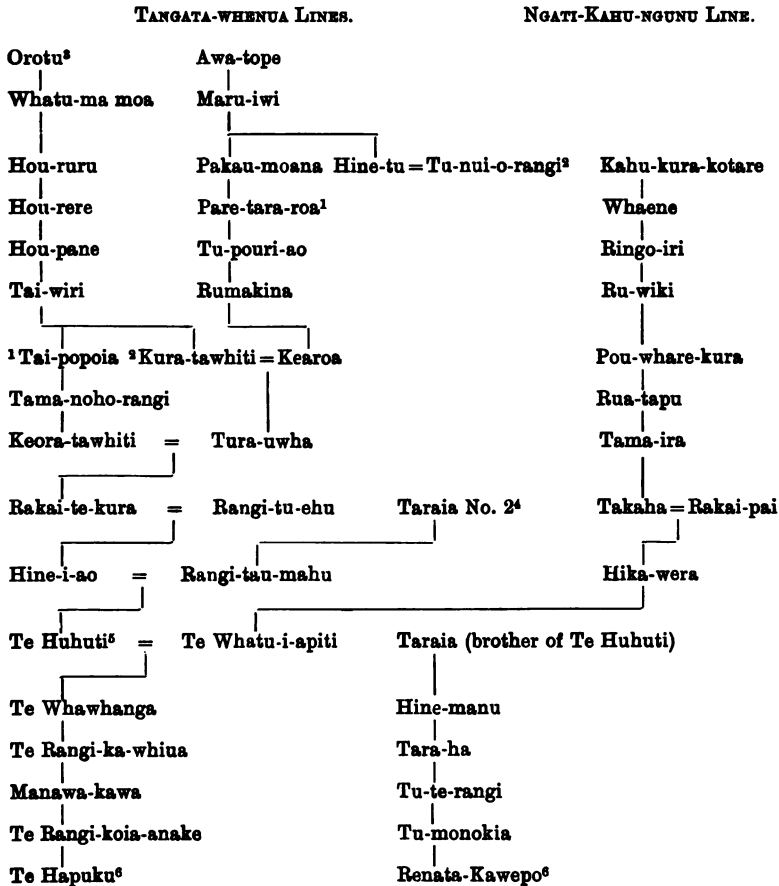
Through causes with which I am not acquainted, this wandering tribe again moved southward, and occupied the country around Te Kawakawa, or Cape Palliser, where their *pas* may still be seen. From this time onward their history is lost, but it is probable that many crossed the Straits to the South Island. The present names of the *pas* near Te Kawakawa are said to have been given by the subsequent irruption of Ngati-Ira, a Northern tribe from Poverty Bay, and who were in occupation of Port Nicholson at the time of the Patu-one-Tuwhare expedition of 1822-23.

It is probable that the numerous remains of stone walls to be found along the eastern shores of Palliser Bay, were the work of Te Tini-o-Awa. They are more extensive than anything of the kind to be found in New Zealand, and were raised apparently as the boundaries of cultivations.

Te Huhuti, the lady who emulated the feat of Hine-moa, is said to have been a sister of Taraia, but not, I think, of Taraia the conqueror. She swam across Te Roto-a-Tara lake, to her lover Te Whatu-i-Apiti, as related by Sir George Grey, in his "Nga Mahinga."

It is not easy to fix the date of Taraia's and Rakai-hiku-roa's invasion of Heretaunga, as the genealogical tables exhibit great discrepancies, through (I think) the deeds of one Taraia having been confounded with those of another man of the same name. But it was probably about 16 or 17 generations ago, or, say, about the years 1500 to 1525.

The following table shows this :—*



NOTES.

¹ It was in the days of Pare-tara-roa that Taraia attacked the Tini-o-Awa, at Heipipi, etc.

² This is Tu-nui-o-rangi, priest and chief of Heipipi

³ Orotu is the ancestor who gave his (? or her) name to Port Ahuriri = Te Whanganui-o-Orotu.

⁴ It is said that in the times of this Taraia, Heretaunga was conquered, which cannot possibly be reconciled with the facts stated in ¹ and ².

⁵ Is Te Huhuti, who swam across Te Roto-a-Tara (see *ante*).

⁶ Both these chiefs died at Here-taunga, at the end of the 19th Century, at a considerable age.

*Supplied to me by Judge Mackay.

The following song—collected by Mr. T. W. Lewis—is interesting as describing many of the migrations and battles of Ngati-Kahununu :—

HE ORORI.

Torikiriki ai te tangi mai i tawhiti
Ko Niniwa-i-te-rangi,
E tangi, E Hine! Kia whakarongo mai
Rei-kura, Rei-maru, Rei-warō,
Nga tangata tena nana i kai
To ratou teina, te kumara,—
Te tama a te tane muri-manu a Pani,
A Tai-nui-a-rangi.

E tangi, E Hine!
No te matenga hoki taua o te whanau o Paikea
I te ratou matenga i te Whiri-purei—e—i,
No te hokinga mai o Pai, i waho ra,
Ka noho i a Pane, ko Ue-te-koroheke,
Ko Ue-roa, ko Porou-rangi, ko Rakai-hiku-roa,
Ko taua, —e—i.

E tangi, E Hine!
He morehu ra hoki taua,
No te matenga i Te Rawhiti-roa,
No te Putakari e, i mate ai Purupuru—e,
Ka whati mai taua i a Paea,
I a Rakai-pāka, i a Kahu-tau-rangi,
I a Kahu-tapere,
I mahue atu ai to taua kainga,
Turanga-nui-a-Rua, —e,
Ka whati mai taua, ka haere i te ara,
Ka whai Kahu-paroro i a Puru,
Ko Kahu-paroro ano,
Ka whai Hauhau, ko Hauhau ano,
Ka ora te ngakau o te iwi i mate,
Ka haka a Hine-kura i tona haka, i Te Wairoa,
Koia "Tiekitia"—e—
Ka hara mai taua, ka tae ki Aro-paea-nui,
Ka whai Taranga-a-Kahu-taea
Ka rere a Hine-pare ki runga ki te kohatu
Tangi taukiri ai,
"Waia o nga tane! akuanei te hanga kino
"O tenei wahine ka matakita
"E era nga tangata."
Katahi ka tahur mai ona tungane
Tete mai ano, pahore mai ano,
Ko taua puta, ko Wai-koau.
Ka mate i reira Rakai-wiriwiri—e—
Ka hara mai taua ka tae ki Here-pu,
Ka whaihanga Taraia i tona whare,
Ka makaia tona potiki
Hei whatu mo te pou-tua rongō,
O tona whare, o te Raro-akiaki—e—.

Nou anake, E Hine!
Nga tupuna i riri i nehe ra

I pau ai ena tangata,
 Ko Te Rau-pare, ko Kirikiri-a-Kai-paua,
 Ka riro i a Nga-oko-i-te-rangi,
 Tapapa noa Te Hanapu,
 E wha taua ki Tuinga-ra ; Kore noa iho,
 Ka whakatika tera,
 He rau te moenga o Ngai-Te-Ao,
 Hara mai a Hopu ki a taua,
 I Kahu-tara ra, i Rau-kawa ra e noho ana,
 Katahi ka hoatu ko Hua-tokitoki
 Ko Whai-kekeno he pa horo,
 No te hokinga mai ki muri ra,
 Ko Te Puta-kari, ko Opeango, ko Kai-tahi—e—
 Tae rawa mai ki te kainga nei
 Ka pahau ki Whaitiri-nui,
 Ko Kai-wai ano, ko Manga-o-tai,
 Ko Pipi ki te Ngutu-o-te-manu,
 Ka kukume te tangata ki te po—e—
 Katahi ka hoatu ko Rakau-titaha,
 Ko Nga-hape, ko Te Koau, ko Mangai-hinahina,
 Whakaawatea ake, ko Te Puta-kari, kou—e—
 Ka kitea i reira to te tane ahuatanga—e —
 Noho mai E Hine ! i te kainga
 I hutoke ai te ure o o tupuna,
 I to taua nohoanga i te Wai-o-pāka na,
 Mo Wairea, mo Tupae, mo Te Ati-nuku,
 Ka atea nga tataramoa ki tahaki,
 Ka riro te kainga i a taua—e—,
 Hara mai E Hine ! na runga o te hiwi
 Ki Te Abi-rara nei, whakatekataka mai ai,
 He whenua ka moai noa e—i o tupuna—e—
 I a Te Whare-mako, i a Te Mango,
 I a Whakahemo, te tangata,
 Ki roto o Here-tannga e—i—.*

We now come to the occupation of Lower Wai-rarapa by Ngati-Kahu-ngunu. The people had settled down at Heretaunga, after their arrival from Poverty Bay, under Taraia and Kahu-kura-nui (? Rakai-hiku-roa), and had increased in numbers, spreading out over the fertile lands in that neighbourhood. Here they remained in peace for some few generations, until about 13 generations† ago trouble arose, as follows :—

Near Te Mata, eastward of the present town of Havelock, was a *kumara* cultivation named Kaha-ruma, which became the subject of a fierce dispute between Hine-te-rangi, a lady of rank, and Rakai-werohia, a chief of those times. This led to much fighting, in which numbers of people took part—some supporting Hine-te-rangi, others Rakai-werohia—and ended in the latter's party being defeated, and the

*I postpone translating this interesting song until I can clear up some doubtful points.

† See the four Genealogical Tables at the end, three of which are fairly constant, but the fourth differs very much.

death of their chief, Rakai-werohia, at Oruarei, which so exercised them that they decided to leave the district and seek for other lands to dwell in. Accordingly a large party left for the South by canoes, the following being the principal leaders, and the names of their canoes—

Chief Rakai-rangi	Canoe " Whakaeanga-rangi "
Rangi-tawhanga	" Whakaeanga-rangi "
Pouri	" Te Maka-whiu "
Tu-te-miha	" Pokai-kaha "
Tuputa	" Whai-tomuri "
Kari-whare	

The expedition sailed down the east coast to Palliser Bay, and landed on the east side of the outlet to Wai-rarapa Lake. Here they found Te Rerewa and his tribe of Rangi-tane dwelling, who at that time owned the whole of Southern Wai-rarapa. Te Rerewa's house, called Te Wharau-o-Kena, was situated a little to the north of the present ferry reserve, near the outlet of the lake. Here the expedition was welcomed by the people of the place, and after the usual feast and complimentary speeches, Te Rangi-tawhanga explained to his hosts the object of their journey. Te Rerewa replied, "*E kore taku kainga e riro i a koutou kakahu me o koutou patu. Kia penei ko te ipu o to koutou tupuna, katahi ka riro taku kainga*" (My lands will not be parted with for your garments and weapons; but if it were the bowl of your ancestor, then indeed might an exchange be effected). Ngati-Kahu-ngunu at once understood that their canoes were referred to by Te Rerewa, for Te Rerewa had explained that he and all his people were about to migrate to the South Island. So Te Rangi-tawhanga replied that they would be willing to exchange the canoes for Te Rerewa's country, adding that he thought the canoes they owned were not an equivalent for so great a stretch of land, but if Te Rerewa would show them a *totara* forest they would hew out some more canoes, to make the number up to seven. This was agreed to, and then Ngati-Kahu-ngunu were shown some trees, and dubbed out three more canoes. In the meantime Te Rerewa had made arrangements with other chiefs of his tribe who were to accompany him, for the cession of their lands. But some of Rangi-tane decided to remain. Te Rerewa now took leave of Ngati-Kahu-ngunu, saying, "*Hei konei ra! Ma koutou te hewa ki a Rangi-tane, tena ano au te hoki na; ma Rangi-tane te hewa ki a koe, haere aki nei au, oti ake. Hei konei!*" (Remain here! Should you wrong Rangi-tane (who are left here) I shall return; but if Rangi-tane wrongs you, I shall be gone and not return. Remain here!) In this Te Rerewa expressed the feeling that those of Rangi-tane left behind must suffer the consequences if they wronged Ngati-Kahu-ngunu. He and his people then took their departure in the canoes for Wairau, in the South Island.

After the departure of Te Rerewa, Ngati-Kahu-ngunu proceeded inland as far as Potaka-kura-tawhiti—of which *pa* Te Whakamana, of Rangi-tane, was chief—a *pa* situated on the banks of the Ruamahanga River. This chief confirmed and concluded the cession of the country to Ngati-Kahu-ngunu. In the morning he conducted Ngati-Kahu-ngunu to the top of a hill named Puke-wharariki, situated on the west side of the Aorangi Range, near Bull Hill. Here he explained the names of places, and the properties for which each was noted; for instance, Te Uhiroa, a lake beyond Pupu-wharau-roa, where eels in great numbers are caught at the falls at the outlet of the lake—which are two, named respectively Makahakaha and Whangaehu—Rapa-rimu, a *pua-tahere*, or bird preserve; Manga-tarera, where eels, and *kokopu* are caught in plenty in the *taeroto* (sedgy pools).

From here the migration proceeded to *taunaha-whenua* (to name and take possession of) the country, and divide it up. Rakai-rangi and Pouri, in their journey came to a certain ridge named Rangi-tumau (about three miles north of Masterton) from which they beheld a beautiful country that excited their wonder. Not knowing the original name they called it Te-whenua-kite-a-Rakai-rangi-raua-ko-Pouri (the land discovered by Rakai-rangi and Pouri). And so Ngati-Kahu-ngunu parcelled out the land to their various families.

But Rangi-tane still lived in the land in some parts, and naturally trouble soon arose between them and the newcomers; indeed, until the days of Te Miha, great-grandson of Rangi-tawhanga, there are indications that Ngati Kahu-ngunu (or some of them) lived under the *mana* of the former tribe. The first trouble that arose was due to the Rangi-tane tribe, who killed one of the Ngati-Kahu-ngunu named Te Ao-turuki. Rakai-rangi (one of the immigrant chiefs), together with others, raised a *taua* and proceeded to attack the Rangi-tane *pas*. They took one *pa* named Okahu, but the Rangi-tane chief named Rakai-moana escaped and fled. When he reached Pari-nui-a-kuaka he made a shade of *manuka* branches for his eyes, and looking back beheld his *pa* being consumed by fire—hence were these people named “Uhi-manuka” (Tea-tree-shade). Great numbers of Rangi-tane were killed in this fighting, but as they were the aggressors, Te Rerewa, mindful of his parting words, did not return to help his tribe. A brother of Te Whakamana’s, named Turanga-tahi, was captured amongst the other Rangi-tane prisoners and saved alive by Rakai-rangi casting over him his own cloak, the name of which was “Nga-wahine-kaira.” At the end of the fighting, the Ngati-Kahu-ngunu, seeing their prisoner remaining amongst them, fat and plump as he was, desired to eat him; but he had been saved by their chief, so escaped the oven. But they gave him a nick-name, Te Hiakai-ora-a-Ngati-Kahu-ngunu.

After the above events Ngati-Kahu-ngunu settled down in peace in the land for some generations—apparently until the days of Te Hiha,

Te Rangi-tawhanga = Whai-tongarerewa

¹ Te Umu-tahi ² Te Toenga

Te Mahaki-kainga

Te Hiha

Te Weranga

Hine-tarewa

Hine-ki-runga-te-rangi

¹ Te Tarewa = Te Kekerengu*

³ Te Miha-o-te-rangi

⁴ Ratima Te-Miha

⁴ Meiha Te-Miha

} brothers of
Te Tarewa

and their children and
grand-children.

who was a great warrior and leader of his people. He owned many *pa tuwa-tawata* (pallisaded *pas*). He was a great-grandson of the immigrant Te Rangi-tawhanga. It was in his time that Ngati-Kahu-ngunu arose and, under his leadership, threw off the yoke—such as it was—of Rangi-tane, and either exterminated or expelled them, for that tribe had again originated the trouble by killing some of Ngati-Kahu-ngunu. From that time, as my informant expresses it,

the “Crown grants of the canoes have become permanent.” Pari-opunehu was the chief *pa* of Te Miha, from which he sent forth his words to the tribe—“So-and-so, you will go to such a place, to your *kakahi* lake, and there dwell. You, So-and-so, will go and dwell yonder, to your *awa-patete*; whilst you, So-and-so, will return to your *paua* rock, and live there.” In the days of Te Hiha, Ngati-Kahu-ngunu settled down finally on the lands, each family on its own estate. “Are not all these things recorded in the Native Land Court cases of Marama and Mapuna-tea?” asks my informant.

It was during these troublous times that a chief of Ngati-Kahu-ngunu, named Nga-oko-i-te-rangi, was murdered (*kohuru*) by some of his own tribe, which led to a great deal of fighting, and involved tribes even so far distant as the Wairoa, for Te Ra-ka-to of that place, who was connected with the murdered man, came down with a force to attack Te Miha, which he did by besieging the latter’s *pa* named Te Wha-koene, but without much result, for neither side suffered much, and then they made peace, when presents were exchanged, Te Miha giving a slab of green jade named “Moto-i-rua,” and Tukaiora gave a *mere* named “Te Whiti-patato” and a *maro*.

After this there was peace in Wai-rarapa until the early years of the nineteenth century, when occurred the great troubles between Ngati-Kahu-ngunu and Te Ati-Awa tribes of Taranaki (who, at that

* Of Ngati-Ira, killed at Kekerengu, South Island, about 1825.

time, occupied Port Nicholson), which resulted in the fights at Te Tarata, near the outlet to Wai-rarapa Lake, west side, and the storming of Pehi-katea *pa* by Te Ati-Awa, in 1884.

The above notes are a very brief sketch of the occupation of Southern Wai-rarapa, and are chiefly noteworthy as illustrating the peaceful cession of a large territory from one tribe to another.

Eastern and Mid-Wai-rarapa were occupied at very nearly the same time, but by a different section of Ngati-Kahu-ngunu, and by a different method. It was due to the action of the same lady—Hine-te-rangi—whose people defeated the first party and caused them to emigrate. It appears that this lady took a fancy to some very superior flax growing in a spot which had been *rahui*, or reserved by its owner for special purposes. She cut a small bundle of it, and on her return was seen by Mahanga, to whom the flax belonged. He suspected the source from which the flax was obtained, and taxed Hine-te-rangi with taking it. She acknowledged having done so, at which Mahanga rated her soundly, and taking a leaf from the lady's bundle, struck her lightly on the body with it. This led to serious consequences, for the people of the two parties flew to arms, and in the fight that ensued Mahanga's side got the worst of it. He and his people decided to follow the example of Rangi-tawhanga, and migrate to Pahaua, lately in the occupation of Rangi-tane.

But previously to this Mahanga had been engaged on a *taua* to those same parts, where he attacked and took a *pa* belonging to the Rangi-tane tribe, and then occupied another of their *pas* near Flat Point. Whilst staying at this place the men were one day all out at sea, engaged in fishing, when Rangi-tane returned to try and retake their *pa*. There were none left behind in the *pa* but the women of those who were out fishing. Knowing the fate that awaited them if the *pa* was captured, they determined to defend it. To this end they secured their husbands' weapons, and after placing bandages round their breasts so that their sex should not be discovered, proceeded to repulse Rangi-tane, in which they succeeded for some time. At this juncture the men out at sea, observing what was going on, hastened ashore and landed in the rear of the Rangi-tane force. Rangi-tane were now between two parties of their enemies, and on a sortie made by the women from the *pa*, fled away inland. Ngati-Kahu-ngunu, after collecting their weapons, followed in pursuit, overtaking the Rangi-tane and killing several as they fled. The pursuit was continued all that day and through the following night, and in the morning the opposing parties found themselves in the neighbourhood of the present town of Masterton. Near here the last of Rangi-tane was killed, a man named Ngarara, and the spot where he fell is known by his name

to this day. There are also other places along the route taken by the flying Rangi-tane that still bear the names of those who there fell. Just about the time that the chase ended, the Ngati-Kahu-ngunu captured a Rangi-tane chief named Whengu. As his captor stood over him, about to give him his *coup de grâce*, holding the long hair of the prostrate man in one hand, and brandishing his short club in the other, Whengu said, "Kill me not with that inferior weapon—here is a better," at the same time handing to his captor a fine *mere-paraoa*, or whale-bone club. This action saved the captive's life, and through his means a peace was made with Rangi-tane, and a mutual boundary between the two tribes agreed on. This boundary was marked there and then by setting up two posts, crossing one another like the letter X, the crossing being firmly bound with *aka-tokai* (a strong vine).

Ngati-Kahu-ngunu now returned to their women, and after a time proceeded on their way north, back to Here-taunga. In the meantime Whengu went back to his people, and journeyed northward. On seeing the numbers of Rangi-tane in their settlements, he came to the conclusion that, notwithstanding the recent peace that had been made with Ngati-Kahu-ngunu, he would try to be revenged on them as his numerous tribe ought to be able to beat the others. With this view he raised a large party of Rangi-tane, and crossed over to the coast to a place named Matangi - awhiowhio, where Ngati-Kahu-ngunu were resting on their leisurely way back to Here-taunga. Here the two tribes met, and Rangi-tane were again worsted in the fight. Whengu, the Rangi-tane leader was caught for the second time, by Rua-rangi, of Ngati-Kahu-ngunu, and as he laid on the ground about to be killed with his own *mere-paraoa*, he said, "It were meet that the owner of that weapon should live, as well as the weapon." But his captor would not trust him twice, and Whengu consequently fell a prey to his own weapon, at the hands of Rua-rangi.

Ngati-Kahu-ngunu now returned home, and then occurred the trouble with Hine-te-rangi, in reference to the flax *rahui*.

After Mahanga and his party had settled down at Pahaua, in the territory conquered by them and his people in his former raid, he eventually decided to remove inland. He took with him the *puhi*, or stern piece of his canoe, and at the place he settled in hung it up in a tree; hence the name of that place, Te Whakairinga, or "The Suspension."

But all of the emigrants did not leave the coast with Mahanga. Those that remained behind occupied two *pas*, one considerably elevated above the other, but on the same ridge. At that time there was a very noisy fellow who dwelt in the upper *pa*, who was constantly angry for no reason, and was always bawling out something or other to the great annoyance of those living in the lower *pa*. "It was the

custom in those days," says my informant, "for people to be careful in their conduct, and not hurt the feelings of others." At any rate, the annoyance caused by this fellow was the cause of the abandonment of the lower *pa*, and the reason why Ngati-Kahu-ngunu dispersed, each family going to settle in such parts as seemed to them meet, and in these places they have continued to live to this day.

LINES OF DESCENT FROM THE FIRST OCCUPANTS OF SOUTH WAI-RARAPA.

Rakai-rangi	Pouri
Ao-mata-rahi	Matua-te-rangi
Te Popoki	Hine-tukia
Kapo	Whakairi-rangi
Tira-mehameha	Tama-i-waha
Hine-whakaruhia	Te Huinga-i-waho
Major H. P. Tu-nui-a-rangi	Tu-whakararo
Maira	Rua-rangi
—	Te Pohehe
	Meri-Maihi
	Te Manihera
	Pou-Heketa
	Inia-Heketa
	—
Tuputa	
Tamahau-ariki	
Te Anga-rakau	Tu-te-miha
Hine-mate	Toko-maru
Hika-rara	Tomo-whare
Hine-whati	Te Maku
Te Haku-wai	Kanau-ake
Hine-pie	Kiri-horea
Te U-taetae	Poupou-tahi
Nuku-tama-roro	Te Huri-roroa
Karo-taha	Māngi
Hirāni-mohau	Mere-Moka
Te Whaiti	Enoka-Taitea
Iraia Te Whaiti	Hemi-Enoka



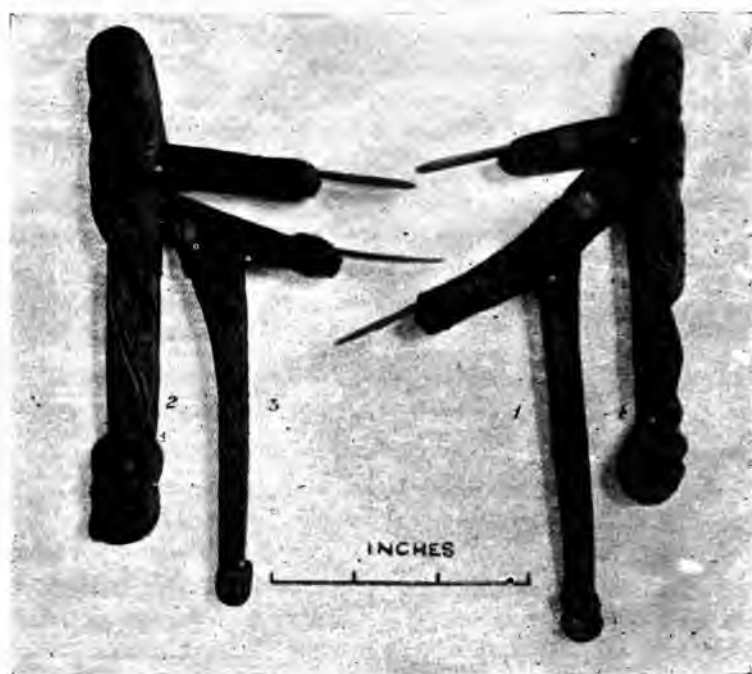
THE UHI-MAORI, OR NATIVE TATTOOING INSTRUMENTS.

Bx ELSDON BEST, TUHOE-LAND.

THE illustrations of tattooing implements of the Maori, given in this number of the POLYNESIAN JOURNAL, are from photographs of four such *uhi*, or chisels, made by Te Tuhi Pihopa, a member of the Tuhoe or Ure-wera tribe. The wooden handles of these implements are ornamented with carving, and also with small round pieces of *paua* (*haliotis*) shell, which are let into the wood by counter-sinking. The chisels are fashioned from bones of the *toroa*, or albatross—small, thin, flat pieces of the bone, averaging about one and a half inches in length, the cutting face of the chisels being from a quarter to one-third of an inch across. These are lashed firmly on to the handle.

These implements are known by the generic term of *uhi*, but each of the three or four chisels used for tattooing is known by a special name. The full name of the *uhi*, as noted in songs and proverbial sayings is, among most tribes, the *Uhi a Mataora*, the latter word, it is said, being the name of a remote ancestor, who originated the style of tattooing which has been, until recent years, so much in evidence among the Maori people of New Zealand. Among the Tuhoe tribe, however, these implements are known as the *Uhi a Toroa* (or *toroa*), this tribe stating that they do not know Mataora as connected with *whakairo tangata* (tattooing), but that he was a remote ancestor of the ages of darkness, who originated the art of carving wood (*whakairo rakau*) in relief, or of piercing holes in the object carved. His knowledge descended to one Rua.

The names and uses of the four *uhi* illustrated, are given by Te Tuhi, as follows:—



(1) *Uhi whaka-tatarāmoa*.—This is the first implement used. It is used to "clear the way," to cut the skin in preparation for the *uhi* which implants the pigment. This *uhi* has a plain face.

(2) *Uhi puru*.—This implement, as its name implies, is used in order to insert the colouring pigment, the face of the *uhi* being dipped into the same before each insertion, or stroke. It depends much on the fluid (*wai whakataerangi*) used to mix the colouring material (*kauri*), as to whether the pigment "takes" at once, or not. The term *kāmu* is used to denote the absorption, or retention, of the pigment. The face of this *uhi* is notched.

(3) *Uhi kohiti*.—This chisel has a plain face, not serrated. It is used for making the *titi*, *kohiti* and such patterns. A full list of names of the various lines and patterns of tattooing (*moko*), together with illustrations, may be found in the work on "Maori Art," recently published by the New Zealand Institute.

(4) *Uhi matarau*.—The face, or cutting edge of this *uhi* is serrated. It is used for tattooing the lines termed *kaha māro*, in such patterns as the *pakiwaha*, *ngutu*, *rape*, and *kauae*.

Another authority gives me the following list of *uhi*, used among the Tuhoe tribe :—

(1) *Uhi tapahi*.—Used to cut the skin.

(2) *Uhi puru* or *uhi matarau*.—Used to insert the pigment.

(3) *Uhi kohiti*.—A small *uhi*, used for scrolls (*piko*) and fine work.

A piece of fern stalk (*taka rarauhe*) was used by the operator as a beetle to strike the *uhi*. The end of the stalk was lashed round in order to prevent its splitting.

It is not the intention to give here a long description of the art of tattooing, nor yet a list of names of the lines and patterns used, such having already appeared in the work quoted above. We insert, however, a few notes collected among the Tuhoe tribe, as serving to illustrate the subject to some extent.

There was a considerable amount of *tapu* and ritual pertaining to the tattooing of important persons, *i.e.*, the first-born male and female children of families of rank. A special house, or shed, was constructed for the purpose. Here the subject and the tattooing artist resided, apart from others, until the rite was over, the tattooing completed, and the *tapu* lifted from the persons.

The colouring matter used for tattooing is the soot (*awe*) obtained from certain woods and resinous matter. Among the peoples of Tuhoe-land the wood termed *mapara* is used for this purpose. This

name is applied to the hard, resinous heart-wood of the *kahikatea* tree. When this tree dies and decays, the soft white sap wood soon rots away, leaving the hard *mapara*, which becomes extremely hard from exposure, and it will often gap a steel axe when chopped across the grain. It splits easily, however, and is often found separated into thin pieces, which are sought after by the natives, and which they form torches of. Many of these *kahikatea* trees were famous *kaihua*, i.e., trees on which bird-snares were set in great numbers each season, and which trees were always known by a special name. The *mapara* of such famed trees was much prized, and the balls of soot obtained from such were known by the name of the tree. Such name would also be applied to the *ahi ta moko*, that is to the rite or ceremony of tattooing any person, wherein that pigment was used. The *mapara* of such trees could only be taken by those to whom the trees and land belonged. Any attempt to use such trees, in any way, by a person having no right thereto, would be resented and viewed as a *casus belli*. The resinous, inner heart of the *rimu* tree was not used for the above purpose.

The fire at which the pigment (*ngarehu*) was prepared, was known as an *ahi kauri*, the term *kauri* being applied to the prepared soot (*awe*). A tunnel was dug on sloping ground, and a shaft was made from the surface to connect with the head of the tunnel. In the shaft were stuck *kakaho*, the flower heads of the *toetoe* (*arundo conspicua*). The fire was kindled in the short tunnel beneath and fed with the resinous wood, from which all soft or decayed wood had been carefully removed. The draught caused the smoke to ascend the shaft, where much of the soot was deposited on the *kakaho*, which retained it. A person would be told off to keep the fire fed for perhaps twenty-four hours. When the fire had died out, the *kakaho* plumes were removed and the adhering soot shaken off on to a piece of bark cloth (*aute*), or a close woven mat. Among the Tuhoe people, in whose district the *toetoe* does not flourish, some prepared fibre of the *ti* palm (*cordyline*) was used in place of the *kakaho*. An old flax mat would be placed over the shaft, and the fibre was fastened to the under side of the mat and allowed to hang down in the shaft, to catch the soot.

The soot thus obtained was mixed with the sap of the *hinau*, or of the *mahoe* trees, or that of the *ti* palm, or of the *karetu* grass, or of the *kaoho* (*poroporo*) shrub. This process is termed *whakataerangi*, the sap used being known as *wai whakataerangi*. The soot is so mixed, kneaded, and formed into balls, which were covered by skins of the *tui* (bird), or of the *kiore* (native rat), and then buried in the ground where it would be kept for years. When required for use this *kauri*, as it is called, would be taken up and a portion scraped off and mixed

with the *wai whakataerangi* into a sort of liquid paste, into which the operator (*kai ta*, tattooer) dips his *uhi*. It is said that it depends much upon the liquid used for mixing the *kauri*, as to whether or not the pigment "takes" well and quickly. (*He pai no nga wai whakataerangi i tere ai te kamu; ara, te mau atu ki te kiri*).

Should the *kauri* be left exposed to the air, it becomes *puaheri*, i.e., very dry and light, hence it is kept buried. The term *puaheri* seems to mean much the same as *puanga*, dried up, dessicated. These balls of *kauri* were often kept in a family for generations. A common saying in this district, applied to a mean, stingy person, is the following:—"Puritia to *kauri*, *hai o matenga mou*," i.e., "Keep your *kauri* as food for your death journey."

The *awheto*, or so-called vegetable caterpillar, was sometimes burned and used for tattooing on the limbs or body, but the pigment was not black enough to be used for face tattooing.

The *ahi ta moko*, as the tattooing rite was termed of yore, was an exceedingly *tapu* affair when the subject was a person of importance; for it meant interfering with the body of a *tapu* person, and the shedding of his, or her, blood. The operator would also be stained with the blood of such sacred person.

When the subject lay down to be operated upon, the priest took up his first *uhi*, and, placing its point upon the left shoulder, struck it a blow, to pierce the skin, repeating the following:—

Kikiwa, kikiwa,
Matao te uhi,
Ki tua o whare wera
Tohu te parapara
Rewa te ngarahu
Kia mangu
Kia u.

As the operation proceeds, it is deemed an evil omen should the blood of the subject spurt (*pārātī*) in the direction of the operator. After the introduction of firearms, it became customary, in this district, to fire a volley on the completion of the tattooing of a person.

In the case of a family of girls, the younger sisters were often tattooed before their elder sister, *hai wharikiriki*, i.e., to prepare the way for her, the eldest sister of a family of note being *tapu* and an important personage, her younger sisters being mere nobodies in comparison.

While a person was being tattooed, persons would gather round and chant one of the songs known as *whakatangitangi*, or *whakawai taanga moko*, a "beguiling" song, to cheer up and invigorate the

hapless patient. The song sung to a woman, while undergoing the operation, is termed a *whakawai taanga ngutu*.*

The following is a specimen of these songs, or a portion thereof :—

Tangata e taia mai ra
 Kia manawanui ra
 Tangata i te ruahine ra
 Kia manawanui ra
 Tangata i te whakautu
 Kia ata whakanakonako
 Tangata i te pai
 Kia ata mahi
 Tangata rangatira nui
 Kia ata whakairoiro—e
 Tangata manawanui—e
 Kia ata mahia ai
 Tangata i te rangi pai—e
 Kia ata whakanakonako—e.

These songs are to make the subject stout-hearted in enduring the pain caused by the *uhi*.

When the operation of tattooing a young man of standing in the tribe was completed, then the priest came forward and recited over him the following invocation or charm, termed *atahu* (or *iri*), the object being to cause women to admire him :—

“Taku tamaiti i wehea e au ki te rangi
 Ka piri, ka tata
 Ka huakina mai Tangaroa—e
 Whakina mai ko ou Hine-tua-kirikiri
 Ko ou Hine-tua-rourou
 Mai te ruwha, mai te ruwha
 Mai te aroha, mai te aroha
 Mai te aroha ra koe—e.”

Places whereat persons of importance were tattooed, often remained *tapu* for generations. There is such a *tapu* place at O-tama-hanga, on the Tuara-rangaia Block, near Wai-o-hau.

The ceremony of tattooing the lips and chin of women is known as *ta nguta*, or *ahi ta ngutu*, or *taanga ngutu*. This *ahi ta ngutu* is a sacred fire and the tattooing of the eldest daughter of a chief was an extremely *tapu* function, but not so that of the younger daughters, the law of primogeniture being strictly upheld by the old time Maori, the eldest of either sex being the most important and *tapu* members of a family. A human sacrifice was sometimes made in order to give force, renown, prestige to the tattooing of such a girl, as also for the piercing of her ears (*pokanga taringa*). In such cases either a slave

*See “Nga Moteatea,” pp. 57, 58, for specimens of these songs.

would be sacrificed, or, better still, a party sent out to slay a member of some neighbouring tribe. Better, because, don't you see, what a fine taunt it would be for us to hurl against the members of that tribe, in the days that lie before. One could say—"You are a person of no account whatever. Your ancestor was slain and eaten for the tattooing of my grandmother. *Hai aha Koe!*" The body of the person sacrificed would be cut up, cooked and eaten by the assembled people at the feast invariably held at any of the functions or rites of the Maori, and which terminated the proceedings. The majority of women, however, had no human sacrifice to enhance the prestige of their *taanga ngutu*. The bulk of the people were not allowed to be present at the tattooing of a woman, but when the operation was over, and the swelling reduced, then the people met to view the work of the artist, and the feast took place. The last instance I have heard of a human sacrifice for a *taanga ngutu*, was in the case of Pare-Karamu, daughter of Koroki of the Tuhoe tribe.

As already observed the ceremony of tattooing a person of rank (who was necessarily *tapu*) was a very *tapu* function and, when completed, the persons who took part in it were cleansed from *tapu* by means of the *whakanoa* rite performed over them by the priest. A portion of this ritual was the reciting of the *karakia* (invocations, charms) known as the *tute* and *rokiā*, which involved the kindling by friction (by the priest) of sacred fires termed the *ahi tute* and *ahi rokiā*. Both these come under the generic term of *ahi parapara* and seem to imply a warding off of the dread powers of *tapu* and *mana*, in fact a lifting of the *tapu*. The term *parapara* appears to be applied to *tapu* things which possess the power to do grievous harm to man, such as the spittle of a person, the clothing of the dead, &c. The word *tute* implies a "thrusting away," while *rokiā* means to calm, to cause to sleep, not only as applied to man, but also of the evil powers held by inanimate objects, as those given above. Compare *roroku* and *rotu*. Here follows a portion of the *tute karakia*, my informant not being able to remember the whole of it. Its purpose is to lift the *tapu* :—

Ika ra taku ahi, tute
 Tute hoki tua, tute
 Tute hoki waho, tute
 Tute ka mania, tute
 Tute ka paheke, tute
 Tute ka whati, tute
 Tute ka oma, tute
 Tute nga tapu nei, tute
 Tute nga mana nei, tute
 Tute nga parapara nei, tute.

After which the priest recited the *rokia*, as follows :—

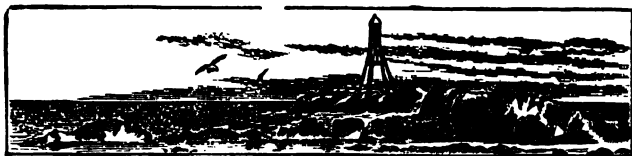
Hika ra taku ahi, e roki
Rokia i nga parapara nei
Rokia i nga tapu nei
Rokia i nga mana nei
Kia tae koe
Koi ihi, koi nana
Koi naunau e roki
Ngaru—he !

This will render the *tapa* (which includes any *parapara*) harmless to afflict man, and the participants in the rite are now *noa*, or “common,” *i.e.*, free from *tapu*.

The generic term for tattoo marks is *moko*, the verb “to tattoo” being *ta*, which, however, must be followed by the word *moko*.

Among women we note that the tattooing on their faces is repeated in many cases when it begins to fade. This second tattooing is termed *purua* and *tarua*.

The term *papatea* is applied to an untattooed person, while the word *tukipu* denotes a fully tattooed man. *Parākiri* implies dark, clearly defined tattooing.



TRADITIONS AND SOME WORDS OF THE LANGUAGE OF DANGER OR PUKAPUKA ISLAND.

BY THE REV. J. J. K. HUTCHIN.

IN the month of May, 1904, accompanied by Lieut-Col. Gudgeon C.M.G., I paid a visit to Danger Island, recently annexed to the Colony of New Zealand. It is a solitary atoll more than seven hundred miles to the north-west of Rarotonga, with a population of nearly five hundred people. Only one vessel has visited the Island since the visit of the s.s. "John Williams" in October, 1903. Owing perhaps to their want of communication with the outside world the majority of the people seem somewhat duller in intellect than the other Northern Islanders. One of the most intelligent of the natives is a man named Ura, and during our short stay there I gleaned the following information from him.

"Bukabuka was a rock in the ocean. A god named Tamaye watched the rock, and thought it to be of no use whatever. The rock, however, burst asunder, and a man appeared. He looked about him, and there was hardly standing room. He accordingly made the land of Bukabuka, and he was the ancestor of the people. His name was Uyo. His wife came from Tonga, and her name was Te Vao-pupu. Their son was named Tu-muri-vaka, and their daughter was named Te Mata-kiate.

In very ancient times two warriors came from Tonga, one was named Tokai-pore, and the other Taupe-roa, and they settled the people in three districts, one was called Avarua or Kotiporo, another Te Awea (*v* pronounced like *w*) or Pana-uri, and the third Taka-numi or Ure-kava. In those days the *kumara*, the sugar cane, and arrowroot grew on this Island. (The *kumara* plant flourishes now but has no tubers; the sugar cane grows when planted in the *taro* patches, but there is no arrowroot there at the present time).

They went to many lands in ancient times. Their warriors went to the east and west, but not to the north or south. The people went from Bukabuka (its ancient name was Nukuroa) to Samoa, to Niue,

and other lands as Manihiki and Penrhyn Island (Tongareva). A number of people under a warrior went to Islands called Maunga-uui pronounced Maunga-wiwi). The people there were like the Chinese (in colour). The land farthest to the westward which their ancestor visited was called Tekumatanau ; the land farthest to the eastward which they visited was called Yiliavari. At that land their ancestors saw some big land monsters which were called *ngolo*. A warrior from Bukabuka went to a land called Vetuna, where these monsters were. The people tried to kill him and his parents ; and to show his strength he seized one of these monsters (*ngolo*) and tore it in halves ; and the people of that land were then afraid of him.

Their ancient name for Tahiti and the surrounding Islands, and Rarotongo and the surrounding Islands was Yaiake. Rarotonga was a mountain of Yaiake. There were two Arikis there who quarrelled, one was named Turi-yauora, and the other Tuyi-mate. When they quarrelled the land was divided, and Rarotonga was carried to the south ; hence the name Rarotonga, that is Tonga to the west, because it was once located further to the east.

In ancient times Nukuroa (*i.e.* Bukabuka) was a much bigger land, and there were many more people than there are now, but there was a deluge, which swallowed up a great part of the land and of the people. The deluge came because of the wickedness of the people, and because of their impiety towards the gods. Some, who called upon their family gods were saved by them, and others who were dead were brought to life by their gods. The daughter of the king in those days stirred up the people to acts of wickedness and impiety. Her name was Anuna.

The people reckon their descent from the mother's side. The tribe which is the most ancient (probably the first settlers) was called Te Ua-ruru, and they are descended from an ancestress called Te Raio. The second tribe (in point of ancient descent) is called Te Mango. The third tribe is called Te Uira, and the fourth tribe Te Kati. There are a number of sub-tribes, but these four are the most important tribes of Bukabuka."

At the close of Ura's narrative in Rarotonga will be found a list of Bukabukan words with their Rarotongan and English equivalents.

E TUATUA TEIA NA URA, E TANGATA BUKABUKA AIA.

E TUATUA TAITO.

KO Bukabuka e kaea ia ki raro i te moana. Kua noo tetai atua ko Tamaye, kua tiaki aia i te toka. Kua manako ana aia e, e mea puapinga kore. Kua ngaa mai te toka e kua aere mai te tangata ki runga ko Uyo tona ingoa. Kua akara aia e kare e turanga, e kua anga aia i te enua e pini ua ake. Nona i katiri mai ei te tangata. Ko tana vaine no Tonga mai, e ko Te Vao-pupu te ingoa o taua vaine ra. Tera ta raua tamaiti tamaroa ko Tumuri-vaka; e ta raua tamaine ko Te-Matakiate.

No Tonga mai nga tangata toa i te tuatau taito, ko Tokaipore tetai, ko Tauperoa tetai. Kua noo raua, e kua mate raua ki teianei enua; e na raua i kokoti i nga oire. Ko Avarua te ingoa o tetai oire koia oki ko Ko tiporo. Ko Teawea tatau oire koia oki ko Panauri. Ko Takanumi tetai, koia oki ko Urekava.

Kua tupu ana te kumara, te tou, e te pia ki Bukabuka i te tuatau taito. I teia tuatau kare te kumara e kiko; ka tupu te tou ki roto i te au repo taro; e kare e pia i teia tuatau nei.

Kua aere ana ratou ki te au enua e manganui i te tuatau taito. Kua aere ana ratou ki te itinga o te ra, e te opunga o te ra, kare ki apatokerau, e ki apatonga. Kua kite ratou ia Manihiki e Tongareva (Penrhyn Island) Samoa e Niue, e tetai au enua atu. Kua tae ana tetai toa ma tona vaka tangata ki tetai pa enua ko Maungaiui te ingoa. E aratai tei rotopu i tetai enua e tetai enua, e te tu tangata e papaa, mei te Tinito te tu. Ko Te Kumatanau te enua openga ki te pae opunga, e ko Yilivari te enua openga ki te pae itinga. E au manu enua tei reira, e manu mamaata, e ngolo te ingoa o taua manu ra. Ko tetai toa Bukabuka kua tae aia ki tetai enua ko Vetuna te ingoa. Kua timata ana te tangata i te ta i aia; i reira kua kave ana aia i nga metua nona ki uta i te maunga; e kia kite te tangata i tona ririnui, kua opu aia i te ngolo, e kua aese atura aia i taua manu ra; matakau akera taua enua tangata i aia. Tera te ingoa taito o Bukabuka ko Nukuroa.

Tera to ratou ingoa taito no Tahiti ma tona pa enua e Rarotonga ma tona pa enua ko Yaiake. Ko Rarotonga, e maunga ia no Yaiake. Kua pekapeka nga ariki tokorua, ko Turiyauora te ingoa o tetai ariki, e ko Tuyimate te ingoa o tetai ariki. I reira kua motu a Rarotonga, kua topa ke; e no reira i tuatuaia ko Rarotonga, no te mea no runga mai.

I te tuatau taito ra, e enua maata a Nukuroa (Bukabuka) e kua maata roa te tangata. Kua pou te enua e te tangata atu i tetai deluvi

maata. E meangiti ua te roto (lagoon) i taua tuatau ra. Ko te akaturi te ara i pou ei te tangata, e no te takinga kino o te tangata i te au idolo, no reira kua kiriti tumu te au atua i te enua. Ko tetai aronga kua akaoraiā e to ratou au idolo, auraka e mate. Ko tetai aronga tei mate ana, na to ratou au idolo i akatu ana ia ratou ki runga. Na te tamaine a te ariki te kino. Kare taua tamaine i moeia e te tane, e kua aere aia e kua tuatua aia kia rave i te peu akaturi. Kua tuatua kotoa aia, e akakino i te au idolo. Kua riri te au idolo i reira, e kua akatupu ana ratou i te deluvi.

Ko te tupu anga o te tangata mei te metua vaine ia. Ko Te Ua Ruru, ko ratou te kopu tangata taito, e kua tupu ratou, mei te metua vaine ko Teraio. Ko Te Mango, ko te rua ia o te kopu tangata. Ko Te Uira, ko te toru ia o te kopu tangata. Ko Te Kati ko te ā ia o te kopu tangata.

Ko tetai au tuatua taito o Bukabuka, e te akatau anga ki te reo Barotonga, e te rea Beritane.

<i>Bukabukan.</i>	<i>Rarotongan.</i>	<i>English.</i>
Taratara	Tuatua	Word.
Whare	Are	House
Taaua	Tamaki	Fight
Ōra	Tangata Metua	An old man
Whenua	Enua	Land
Wa	A	Four
Whitu	Itu	Seven
Katoa	Ngauru	Ten
Akaemaema	Akaperepere	Beloved
Tataku	Pure	Pray
Manatuā	Vareae	Jealousy
Riri pokerekere	Riri ototoo	Fierce anger
Watitiri	Mangungu	Thunder
Rauīē	Rangi marie	Fine (as a fine day)
Tainamua	Tuakana	Elder or Eldest
Tainamuri	Teina	Younger or Youngest
Kāinga Vaine	Tuaine	Real Sister
Kāinga Tane	Tungane	Real Brother
Whareatua	Ko te tamaine ia a te tuakana	The daughter of the elder or eldest brother. Whareatua = the abode of the god.
Inakava	Ko te tamaine ia a te tuaine	The daughter of the sister
Aka	Takai	To tread
Lei vanau	Rengarenga	Yellow
Popo kava	Kerekere rava	Very black
Kena	Teatea	White
Mnkavakevake	Teatea rava	Very white
Koko	Korare	Spear
Kura melo	Muramura	A light red
Kura toto	Muramura roa	A dark red
Matoyinga	Ngati, as Ngati tangiia	A tribe
Poripori	Katiri	*A line of descent.

*This is reckoned in Bukabuka from the female side



THE MAORI PEOPLE.

BY LIEUT.-COL. GUDGEON, C.M.G.

WHenever a man of European descent finds it necessary to speak or write concerning the Maori, his manners, customs, or history, he will do well to approach those subjects untrammelled by any preconceived notions of right or wrong. For by such means only can he obtain an unprejudiced and fairly correct impression of the mental and moral characteristics of a people who differ very greatly from their European neighbours. Holding, as I do, that the Maori cannot be appreciated at his proper value by those who would judge him from our own narrow point of view, I would, with all humility, suggest to my readers that they ought, for the time being, to ignore the time honoured notion that the Christian code of morality is the only correct rule of life, and accept temporarily the theory that much as the manners and customs of the Maoris may differ from ours, they may—so far as that people are concerned—be equally right and salutary.

As a friend of the Maoris I hope to see them judged by this standard, in so far that they are a very peculiar people, and follow a moral code entirely their own; one that bears very little resemblance to that which we have been taught to revere, but which has at any rate this undoubted merit, that it has been found suitable for the purposes of a very warlike and manly race during the last thousand years of their history.

The view that a Maori may take of any subject whatsoever can rarely be forseen by a man of European parentage. For instance, when the gospel reached the Ngati-Raukawa tribe at Otaki, through the instrumentality of the Rev. Henry Williams, that tribe was found to be in a fit and proper condition of mind to receive the message of peace and good-will, inasmuch as they had just been badly defeated by the Ngati-Awa and Taranaki people, and were moreover expecting the

dose to be repeated at uncertain intervals ; for this and other reasons they became enthusiastic in the cause of Christianity, excepting only one *hapu* (section), the Ngati-Kapu, who steadily refused to join in the general Christian movement.

If we regard the matter from a purely Maori point of view the Ngati-Kapu had good and sufficient grounds for their objection which was as follows :—At one of the very first church meetings ever held by the Ngati-Raukawa, a certain man named Pairoroku Mahia officiated ; this man had learned something of the customs of the church during an enforced residence among the Nga-Puhi, but it seems possible that his knowledge of the rites of our religion was to say the least rudimentary, for his antics so amused Te Kaka a chief of the Ngati-Kapu, that he not only laughed outright, but also as it were patted Pairoroku on the back jeeringly and disrespectfully. Now the man who undertakes to wound the self-love of an old-time Maori warrior ought most certainly to be provided with more than one life, and herein it was that Te Kaka failed ; for Pairoroku converted the comedy into a tragedy and finished the performance in one act, by driving his knife through the offender. This little episode did not in any way astonish the Ngati-Kapu ; it was of course an unfortunate occurrence and one quite certain to cause trouble in the future, but nevertheless the whole affair was in strict accord with the best precedents. Pairoroku had asserted his undoubted right to avenge an insult and could not be blamed for having done so ; but on the other hand, it was felt that some person or thing ought to be blamed, and therefore the tribe in solemn conclave considered the question in all its bearings, and came to a very funny conclusion. It was to the effect, that there must be something very wrong in the Christian religion, and therefore the Ngati-Kapu would have nothing to do with that particular sect represented by the followers of the Rev. Henry Williams.

To a Maori, whether Christian or heathen, the mere deliberate killing of a man—however small the provocation—is not murder ; it is in fact generally regarded as a somewhat praiseworthy action. The deed may be altogether contrary to the interests and sympathies of the offender's tribe, but none the less they will cheerfully adopt it as their own, and fight out the consequences to the bitter end. I may say that the Maori has no real equivalent in his language, by which he could convey the meaning of our word murder, he therefore uses the expression *kohuru* which means treachery, but conveys to the Maori mind the feeling of abhorrence proper to the occasion. Fair and open manslaughter is not and never has been looked upon as a very serious matter, even by the tribe to whom the dead man belonged, for after all the man was a fool to allow himself to be killed ; and there the matter might end were it not that the relatives must have

compensation, and the tribal honour be satisfied at any cost. Under these conditions if the culprit belongs to a very strong tribe with whom it would be dangerous to meddle, it was not absolutely necessary that they should be attacked; blood must certainly be shed, but there are other tribes who are neither so strong or so warlike as the real offenders, and who must have given offence at some period or other of their existence, and who in such case would serve equally well as objects of vengeance. Under any circumstances a raid would be made and someone killed, no matter whom, for the result would be the same; the original injury would be wiped out and another created, and so passed on from one tribe to another, until some strong neutral power intervened, and put an end to this interchange of compliments, by calling these Kilkenny cats together in order that they might feast, talk, and make a peace that should last until the Day of Judgment; but which would in all probability be broken shortly after the ensuing *kumara* crop had been gathered.

Not unfrequently, the chief of a man-slaying expedition who had succeeded in killing a few stragglers in order to avenge a tribal insult, would himself go up to their *pa* and intimate to those who were for the time being his enemies, the course that they should pursue in order to obtain the revenge necessary to satisfy the tribal self-love. This action on the part of a chief, would be dictated by a kindly feeling towards those whom the necessities of his position had compelled him to injure; for it indicated neither more nor less than this, that he did not desire a blood feud with them, nor to be compelled to wipe them all out of existence, and therefore he would condescend to point out how they might avenge themselves and recover their self-respect, without incurring his enmity. A very curious instance of this nature occurred in the Bay of Plenty about 80 years ago, and resulted in a very tragedy of errors.

A woman of high rank in the Ngati-Ahi tribe had in a fit of temper cursed Tuara-whatī a chief of the Ngati-Pukeko, and as a natural sequence the injured man attacked the Ngati-Ahi and defeated them at Te Ruaroa. As however the curse was not of a very serious character, no great number of men were slain, and Tuara-whatī after the skirmish showed that he did not bear malice, for he walked up to the Ngati-Ahi *pa* and then and there advised that tribe, that they should not attempt to obtain revenge by attacking him; but suggested, that they should transfer the account to that section of the Ngati-Pukeko, who lived at Wai-o-hau, and who were not only less warlike, but also much less numerous than the section who followed Tuara-whatī. The Ngati-Ahi took the advice as it was meant in a kindly spirit, and shortly after set out for Wai-o-hau on vengeance intent. After the war party had started, a certain man of the Ngati-Pukeko

tribe, possessed by a spirit of malice, or mischief, visited the Tokitāreke *pa*, at that time occupied by the Hamua and Warahoe tribes, and informed them that the Ngati-Ahi had gone to Wai-o-hau in order to kill certain of their relatives who lived at that place. On this information the men of Tokitāreke started instantly in pursuit of the unoffending Ngati-Ahi, who had themselves marched with the fixed intention of disencumbering the earth of the presence of the Wai-o-hau Ngati-Pukeko; but even this praiseworthy intention was not fated to be carried out, for they found themselves in the grey dawn of the morning confronted by a war party of the Whaka-tohea, who had come from Opotiki on much the same errand as the Ngati-Ahi. The two parties at once engaged with the utmost fury, regardless of the fact, that they had really no cause of difference, and that there was every reason why they should have been friends, seeing that they had both come there for no other reason than to destroy the Ngati-Pukeko. Such philosophical niceties do not, however, affect the mind of the ordinary Maori—they had gone to Wai-o-hau to fight, and the question as to whom they should fight was of secondary importance; it will be sufficient to say that the Whaka-tohea were defeated, and their chief Mango slain.

By this success achieved against a very warlike tribe, the Ngati-Ahi had established beyond all doubt that they were not to be assailed with impunity, and as they had avenged their former losses they had now no desire to attack the Ngati-Pukeko they therefore returned homewards, joyful at heart, carrying with them the dissected chief and other victims. Their troubles were, however, only just commencing, for *en route* they met the warriors of Hamua and Warahoe burning to avenge the relatives, whom they erroneously supposed to have been slain. The Ngati-Ahi, unconscious of ill-doing, and well satisfied with themselves, were straggling homeward in single file, and it so happened that the first of their party to meet the enemy was Te Nahu, a chief of the Pahi-poto, who had joined the war party just to see the fun. This man was nearly related to those who now barred his way, and who sternly demanded whose body he was carrying. Te Nahu replied truthfully enough that it was the mortal remains of a Whaka-tohea warrior; but Hamua convinced that the chief had lied to them, were wroth, and said, "It is false! you have slain our people; because you are related to us, you may pass, but your companions shall die." Now Te Nahu was a simple minded savage, and it is possible that his notions on many subjects, were not over well defined, but in this instance he had no doubt as to the course he should pursue, so he refused life on such terms, and throwing off his load fled back to his friends who were slowly advancing.

The position of Ngati-Ahi was now most serious, for not only were they exhausted by their long journey and previous exertions, and heretofore unfit for close fighting, but they were also outnumbered; under these circumstances they prepared for the worst, and the chief Tauwhitu took off his sacred girdle and burned it on a low ridge that is still known by the name of "Te maro o Tauwhitu." In the battle that ensued no less than thirty of the bravest of the small tribe of Ngati-Ahi fell including their three chiefs and Te Nahu of the Pahipoto, all of whom were members of the powerful tribes of Ngati-Awa or Ngati-Pukeko. This fact was well known to those who had slain them, and not for one moment were the Hamua or Warahoe in doubt as to the probable result of their escapade; yet they made no effort to save themselves by flight, but calmly awaited the issue in their respective *pas*. The result was, that within a week a few miserable survivors of the two tribes were flying for their lives towards Taupo or Waikato, at which last named place the Warahoe lived until long after Christianity had been established.

So much for mere *patu tangata* (man slaying), but suppose that some element of treachery should enter into the killing; it would then be termed a *kohuru*, a deed to be abhorred by gods and men—especially by Maori gods who are supposed to take a very active interest in the affairs of their friends. A *kohuru* cannot be passed over, the wrongdoers must be attacked even though they be strong enough to eat up their assailants; mere consequences are not counted in such cases, and the vengeance should be on a grand scale, sparing nothing. In many instances a *kohuru* has been followed by the absolute destruction of the tribe to whom the murderers belonged, and speaking generally on this subject there should—in order to square accounts with exactness—be a *kohuru* on the part of the avengers. My readers may perchance desire to know what sort of act would in the opinion of a Maori, constitute a *kohuru*, and in such case I should reply, any act that tended to lull a man into a sense of security if followed by an attempt upon his life; for it is not an essential that the attempt should succeed. One of the worst instances of *kohuru* that has ever come under my notice, was that by which Mr. Chas. Broughton lost his life at the hands of the Pakakohi tribe of Patea during the year 1865. This was a striking instance of cold-blooded deliberation, in which the whole tribe, having first resolved to murder Mr. Broughton, sent their chief, Te Onekura, to induce him to visit them, on the pretext that they were anxious to accept the terms of peace offered by the Government of that day, and were prepared to meet him midway between their respective strongholds, and there settle preliminaries. As a matter of course the tribe did not attend the trysting place, but Te Onekura did, and excused the non-attendance of his people on the score that they

were afraid of being attacked, and for this reason preferred that the meeting should take place in their own *pa*. Now this very tribe, numbering less than 150 warriors, had only a few months previously, attacked General Cameron and his 1200 men in the open country near Kakaramaea, and therefore Mr. Broughton might well have doubted whether such a rough dealing people, were likely to be influenced by considerations of a purely personal nature. He hesitated, but overcome by the persuasive eloquence of Te Onekura, whom he had known intimately for many years, he went with him, and was shot dead from behind while lighting his pipe at a fire, only a few minutes after he had entered the *pa*. Even our most deadly enemies—among whom I may include Titoko-waru and his tribe—were disgusted with this savage deed, and invariably referred with much satisfaction to the severe punishment inflicted on the murderers, as a just though inadequate retribution for their sin. Not unfrequently a *kohuru* has resulted in a vendetta, the memory of which has been handed down from father to son for many generations; and under any circumstances a wrong of this sort is never forgotten, no matter how thoroughly it may have been avenged; it has moreover always been held to be a convenient excuse for killing a man of the offending tribe whenever opportunity offered. It was a murder by the Muaupoko tribe of Horowhenua, of which affair Te Rauparaha was almost the sole survivor, that caused the chief in question to pursue the Muaupoko almost to their extinction.

When however a *kohuru* followed serious provocation, and was not the result of deliberation and malice aforethought, it was not regarded with the same abhorrence, as was the case with the more cold-blooded variety of the same offence; indeed there might be occasions in which a *kohuru* would become a necessity of the tribal position, the only means left by which the tribe could extricate themselves from a position of overwhelming danger.

The intense desire for revenge, which as I have already pointed out is so characteristic of the true Maori, must be satisfied even though the very existence of the tribe be imperilled in obtaining it. Ordinarily however these dangerous traits of character did not prevent the Maori from behaving in a manly straight-forward manner, for often a warning would be sent to the threatened tribe through the medium of some mutual friend, warning them to put their *pa* in order and to look out for squalls. Surprises were not the rule unless indeed there was a blood feud between the parties, or that the assailants were much weaker in numbers than their enemy; for in such cases anything and everything was fair.

During visits of ceremony, any attempt made upon the lives of either the visitors or their hosts would have been regarded as the very

worst sort of *kohuru* ; yet even here allowance would be made for cases wherein the memory of some wrong suddenly revived might urge a tribe to attack those with whom—up to that time—they had lived on terms of friendship. Of this particular form of *kohuru* we might quote many instances, but one will suffice.

During a war between two tribes who resided at the Thames and Waikato respectively, the former in one of their raids captured a woman of rank, and killed and ate her husband who was the head chief of his tribe. After the war-party had returned to their homes the captive woman gave birth to a son, and was subsequently taken to wife by one of her masters ; it is just possible that her consent to this arrangement was not asked ; but she was wise enough to accept the inevitable, and settle down quietly in her new life. In due time her captive son grew to be a man, and in recognition of his undoubted rank, was allowed to take a wife from his master's tribe ; so far as a prisoner of war could have power and authority this man may be said to have had it, for he was a notable warrior. The young man had been named Pirongia, after the mountain near which his mother had been captured, and he had further been carefully instructed in the history of his own tribe, the manner of his father's death, and the fact that he had only received the name of Pirongia in order to keep alive the memory of that event, and the necessity for revenge, and that when this had been accomplished he would be required to take his proper name of Rata.

The two tribes had been at peace for many years, when the Thames people sent a messenger to the Waikato inviting them to a great feast, which was intended as a preliminary to a joint expedition against the tribes of the south. The invitation was accepted and the numerous visitors received with great ceremony. The time had now arrived when it had become possible to obtain the vengeance so long and patiently waited for ; to this end the captive woman sent for her son and desired him to bring to her a number of the leaves of the *phormium tenax*, and these she wove together into a food basket of peculiar shape, common only to her own tribe : the peculiarity consisted for the most part in this, that she left all of the ends of the flax loose in place of weaving them in as was the usual custom. In this basket she placed small portions of every kind of food procurable, all of which she herself had cooked, and when the evening meal was over and it was sufficiently dark to hide her movements from the prying eyes of her master, she sent the food by the hands of her son into the house set apart for the visiting chiefs.

It will not be possible for me to convey to my readers any conception of the feeling of surprise and even horror experienced by the chiefs when this curiously shaped basket of food was set before them.

In the first place it was a thing unheard of and beyond their experience that food should be brought into a house where sacred chiefs were intended to sleep; either it was a direct insult given in order to destroy that *tapu* which was their birthright, and portending in such case immediate death at the hands of their hosts; or it had some meaning of the gravest nature, in which—although unknown to themselves—they were deeply concerned. For some moments there was silence and then the leading chief of the visitors said, "What is the meaning of this present?" Pirongia replied, "It is a present from my mother who at one time belonged to your tribe." Then the *tohunga* or priest of that tribe asked who had plaited the basket and when told that it had been done by the captive woman, he desired the son to bring her before them, in order that she might explain her behaviour. The old woman who had meanwhile been close at hand awaiting this call entered the house, and seating herself among the chiefs said—"I was once the wife of your chief and that is his son." At these words the position of affairs became clear to her audience, who lamented over their newly found relatives in the manner usual to Maoris; but the *tangi* was roughly interrupted by Te Rata—who was never again to be called Pirongia—for he, inspired by a natural desire for revenge, said: "Let us slaughter our enemies." His friends at once agreed to aid him in the coming fray, and each one of them partook of the contents of the basket, and by so doing bound himself to avenge the death of their former chief and the slavery of his son. That night their plans were laid and at grey dawn on the following morning, Te Rata and his friends fell upon their unsuspecting hosts in such wise that but few of them escaped. The old woman's basket of food had been offered, in order to bind her tribe together for the one great purpose of her life, and it had produced the desired effect.

This fight or rather massacre is known as Te Umupu, and would under ordinary circumstances have been regarded as a murderous piece of treachery; but the want of premeditation, and the undoubted right of a tribe to avenge their chief, redeemed the otherwise questionable action of guests rising upon and slaying their hosts.

So far I have dealt with the killing or murder of men of alien tribes, for it must distinctly be understood that there never has been a truly national feeling among the Maoris; whatever patriotic feeling the Maoris have had has been purely tribal, and I may add that they have always hated with greater or less intensity all tribes but their own.

When our rapid increase in numbers aroused the attention of the Maoris to the possibility that their *mana* might depart from them and be absorbed by the intruding white man; then indeed Wi Tamehana, Te Heuheu, and other sincere patriots, aided by several

well meaning but mischievous members of the Church Mission Society, attempted to form a national league and elect a king. The league was duly formed and the puppet king elected, but the result was not quite that which had been anticipated by the Missionaries; indeed with the single exception of Rewi Maniapoto it is doubtful if any one of the leaders foresaw the result of their handiwork, which had no other effect than to create a feeling of arrogant hostility towards their fellow settlers, and hasten the inevitable war with the *Pakeha*. Yet there was every reason why the king movement in its original peaceful guise should have succeeded, for the Maori mind at that period, was much exercised over the sayings and doings of another league whose object it was, to prevent all further sales of land to Europeans, and therefore unity of action was necessary to ensure success; but for all this the king movement was a failure from its very inception.

Many of the smaller tribes did naturally join in a policy that bade fair to give them some importance in the councils of the new Maori nation; and certain also of the stronger tribes who bore a grudge against the *Pakeha*, joined readily enough; but other tribes who justly considered themselves as good as the Waikato people, held aloof and asked "Who are these Waikato that they should govern us"? Such was the feeling that influenced the Maoris at that time, and it has not greatly altered even at the present day, and it is this phase of the Maori character, that will in great measure account for the utter disregard shown by one tribe when the lives or fortunes of another were at stake.

It occasionally came to pass that a man was slain by a member of the same tribe, or worse still of the same family; and in such case complications would probably arise of a more serious character than anything I have yet described. Here vengeance might or might not be sought, for that question would for the most part depend upon the rank of the offender; who if he happened to be a chief with many relatives, might escape extreme punishment, or for that matter any punishment whatever; but in such case he would risk the partial if not entire destruction of his tribe.

A very instructive instance of this variety of man-slaughter occurred among the Ngati-Kahukoka section of the Waikato people many generations ago, and will serve to illustrate the line of action that any tribe might take, under the spur of similar provocation. This tale is referred to by the late John White, in one of his valuable papers on Maori subjects. Among the Kahukoka people there were two chiefs (brothers) Tamakae and Tamakou, and for some reason the younger murdered the elder brother; here there was an altogether new and unique situation, but the *hapu* was equal to the occasion; the

adherents of the dead man could not, it is true, take vengeance on their own chief; but they could and did murder a member of an adjacent tribe, with the deliberate intention of drawing down destruction on their own heads. We may presume that the result was satisfactory, for in the conflict that ensued the Ngāti-Kahukoka disappeared from the land.

The Maoris had yet another method of dealing with unsatisfactory chiefs, and that method was used in the case of Te Amaru; a monster in human form who was the chief of the Aitanga-a-Hauiti of Tologa Bay, and who was in the habit of killing the young men of his own tribe, in order to gratify his cannibal appetite. The Hauiti warriors bore with this ruffian for some years, but he finally exhausted even their patience, so that they at last sent a message to their friends the Whaka-tohea to the effect, that Te Amaru would be at a certain place on a certain day and that he had lived long enough. The hint was taken, and from that time forth Tologa Bay became a satisfactory place of residence.

Before leaving this subject, I may say that the state of exasperation that induced the Ngāti-Kahukoka to compass their own destruction, is generally known by the name of *Whaka-momore*; and this racial peculiarity and its effects will be reviewed at length in another chapter, for it is one of the most interesting among the many remarkable traits of character developed by the Maori people.

It may not be denied, that the Maori has certain barbarous customs which are the result of religious superstition; as a rule they did not waste men in the form of offerings to their gods; but there were occasions when they deemed it expedient to sacrifice men, in order to avert the possible anger of those deities. These momentous occasions were the building of a great *pa*, the launching of a war-canoe, and the building of a chief's house. There is a small tribe presumably of Arawa descent called Ngāti-Tura, and this unfortunate family had for many generations, the doubtful privilege of providing the sacrifices required by their overlords the Ngāti-Whakaaue of Rotorua. The latter tribe had two war canoes which were exceedingly *tapu* and were known as Tiaki and Te Hapu-pararaki respectively; whenever either of them were launched for war purposes, a man—probably an old one—was selected from the Ngāti-Tura, bound securely, and then placed alive as a living skid under the bow of the canoe which was then launched over his body. Many tales are told of the indignities suffered by this tribe. On one occasion at a feast, when the *kinaki* (superior food) was found to be insufficient for the guests; a few men of Ngāti-Tura were bound and flung carelessly on the heaps of potatoes as an offering to the visitors. On another occasion after the Tuhourangi tribe had killed a few men of this family, the Ngāti-

Whakaaue furious at this attack on their vassals, paid them a visit, and then one of the chiefs went through the village and marked each member of the *hapu* on the forehead with red ochre. This ceremony was significant, for it meant neither more nor less than this; that the Ngati-Tura being the property of Ngati-Whakaaue the chief had marked them off to be killed as required. Of course the marking was done in this instance to save them from the tender mercies of Tuhourangi; it was a quiet intimation that the whole tribe had been bespoken, and that any interference with them would be avenged; but the act was also significant as to what had happened on previous occasions.

The war customs and superstitions of the Maoris are undoubtedly the result of expediency, and of the experience born of the life of bloodshed and violence with which they had been familiar from their earliest infancy. These customs are for the most part cruel, and sometimes whimsical, but almost invariably practical; hence they have but little patience with our humanitarian eccentricities. For instance, they cannot understand the principle on which we spare the lives of men captured in war. To the old-time Maori there is nothing meritorious in saving the life of an enemy; indeed, he regards all such actions with good humoured contempt, for he deems it both weak and foolish, an act that could not even be contemplated by a well balanced mind. The matter was very fairly put to me by an old chief. "Why," said he, "do you go out to fight if it be not to kill some one, and in such case why save a man to become your bitter enemy? Do you suppose that any Maori will thank you for having saved his life and thereby degraded him? Just think what your feelings would be if after sparing a man you should find on the next occasion that the tables were turned; that he had you in his power, and not being quite a fool would not forgo his advantage. Would you not then be very much ashamed that you had acted so foolishly?" I had to admit that my old friend had the best argument from his Maori point of view, and no good purpose would have been served by my placing before him the emotional humanitarianism of the Britisher. A madman has the respect of the Maori, for in his case it is the act of God, but if an otherwise sane man begins to dabble to a Maori about humanity *a la* Britisher, he is at once set down as a mean man, who wishes to make every man as bad as himself, and hide his cowardice under the cloak of humanity.

A Maori holds very strong opinions on the subject of slavery. He is firmly convinced that captivity entails not only an entire loss of social rank, but also of *mana* (moral force). It will therefore be easily understood that a *rangatira*, or chief, would cheerfully suffer death rather than become a prisoner of war. A warrior of some repute

among his fellows once thanked me warmly, for that I had taken a leading part in the last moments of a neighbouring chief, who was a relative of his. "Death," said he, "must come to all men, and to fall in battle is becoming to a chief, but to take a man of rank prisoner is to degrade his tribe, and to affix the stigma of slavery to all of his descendants."

As an example of the divergence of Maori custom from our own notion of right and wrong, I may quote the following case: During the campaign of General Chute against the Ngati-Ruanui, my old and erratic friend Tamati Waka, of the Ngati-Hau tribe, discovered an aged uncle living among the Hauhau fanatics, and for reasons that will be appreciated by all Maoris felt himself compelled to shoot the old man in cold blood. Now, it must be understood that Tamati had no special ill feeling against this uncle, but had been moved to do the deed by a mixed feeling of patriotism and family pride; two very great virtues from the Maori point of view. We may therefore imagine that he was sincerely and virtuously indignant when he found himself a prisoner in the presence of the General, and realised that the self-sacrifice involved in the shooting of an uncle was not only not appreciated, but was regarded as a deed that ought possibly to involve another sacrifice, which might, perchance, affect Tamati's own future. His attitude before the General was instructive, if only for illustrating the fact that there are other methods of regarding matters of morality than those familiar to the infallible European. "Why," he asked, "should I not shoot the man; he was my uncle, and had disgraced me by becoming a Hauhau. Who would have dared to kill him had I not done so? Am I a nobody (*tangata ware*) that I should not do my duty?"

This chain of reasoning, duly interpreted by an officer of the Colonial forces, was beyond the General who, in his perplexity, appealed to his interpreter, and was gravely assured that there was a good deal in that which Tamati had advanced. That, from a purely Maori point of view, he had behaved in a manner deserving of the warmest commendation, inasmuch as it would be a bad omen for the future operations of the force if enemies were to be spared; that from the most ancient times the laws governing such cases were clearly laid down, and all of the precedents were in favour of Tamati Waka. Thus if a *taua* (war party) met and captured a man, whether friend or enemy, before blood had been shed by that *taua*, then there were two courses open to the warriors. Either the captive must be slain as a propitiatory offering to Tu, the war god, or the *taua* must return without delay to the place whence it had come, and must make a fresh start before they attempted to accomplish the purpose for which they had set out. The method of procedure was simple. If the captive

was known to have a relative in the *taua* he was passed back from man to man until he came to the said relative, whose privilege it was to decide his fate. If the captive had no kindred present, then he was slain out of hand by the first man who could reach him, and in such case the chief priest would then and there perform the ceremony of *whangai hau*.*

If the relative—whom I have explained had the right and power to dispose of the prisoner—was a true Maori, and possessed the feelings of an old *rangatira*, he would at once smite the man down with his *mere*, and go on his way proudly conscious that he at any rate had not lost a day. If, however, he was of the modern and Missionary type of Maori, he might hold sentimental ideas as to the sacredness of human life, etc., and might even attempt to save the captive; but in such case the *taua* must return to its home an object of derision to the old men, women, and children. Fortunately there are but few men who would bring about such a fiasco, or bear the ridicule attaching to it.

Tamati Waka was not one of these half hearted and degenerate productions of our boasted civilization, and therefore he felt that he had done his duty, and had done it well. It is true that the occasion was not one of great urgency, such as I have already quoted—for this particular war party had met and defeated the enemy at Okoutuku and killed several men—but admitting this to be so, the greater the credit due to Tamati, in that he had sacrificed a relative even when the welfare of his tribe did not urgently require him to do so, and by so doing had proven beyond all doubt that his sense of honour and duty was stronger than mere family sentiment. Such were the conclusions at which my friend had arrived by a process of reasoning purely Maori, and behold as a reward he found himself a prisoner and an object of reprobation to many Europeans. Well might he feel despondent as to the ultimate fate of a war-party conducted on such loose principles. Tamati had indeed every reason to complain, for though General Chute had acknowledged the force of his arguments to the extent of releasing him from durance vile, yet it was only done on the condition that he would return forthwith to his home.

However great his sense of injury, my friend was still a just man, for he afterwards confided to me that he did not blame the *Pakeha*, seeing that it was more their misfortune than their fault, that they were greatly wanting in common sense, and ignorant in all matters connected with war and ceremony; in fact an ill bred people. In this opinion Tamati is not singular. It prevails generally among his people, for there is a want of dignity and reticence among Europeans that is positively shocking to the old and self contained Maori.

* A ceremony of propitiation, during which the victim's heart was burned as an offering to the war god.

"*He maroro kokoti ihu waka*," is the figurative expression used by the Maoris to describe the individual who is so foolish or unfortunate as to cross the path of a war party. As I have already said, such a man would, except in very rare cases be killed at once, even by his own brother. This custom I need hardly say has often caused trouble to the tribe, whose duty—and possibly pleasure—it was to enforce the rule in all its integrity. After a family quarrel among the Whatu-i-apiti tribe of Hawke's Bay; certain of the leading men of that tribe together with their immediate followers, shook the dust of the land from their feet and migrated to Pourangahau. Here the local chief, Kaitahi, gave them lands whereon they lived peaceably, until certain of the Wai-rarapa people carried off the wife of Hau-apu one of their chiefs. To avenge this insult a strong war party was sent in pursuit of the chief offender, who was overtaken and slain. While intent on the performance of this act of justice and vengeance, the *tana* unfortunately met Rauponga, a son of Kaitahi; now it was clearly the duty of the war party to sacrifice this man to the war god without delay, and such indeed was the desire of the warrior chief, Pahu, but he was over-ruled by Manawa-kawa, the *ariki* of the party, who by way of compromise allowed Pahu to smite the captive a sharp blow on the head, and declare him dead for all practical purposes. After this solemn farce was over Rauponga was allowed to escape and return to Pou-rangahau, where he related his adventures and thereby roused his father's wrath to such a degree, that he induced his tribe to join him in attacking the Whatu-i-apiti, in order to wipe out the insult offered to his son. To me, it seems not improbable, that the tribe resented the clemency that had been exhibited towards Rauponga. I can quite imagine the outraged father working on the feelings of his people, and asking: is my son a *tangata ware* (nobody) that he should be spared in this contemptuous manner? Whatever the arguments used it is evident that they were cogent, for Kaitahi attacked the Whatu-i-apiti, and was slain together with his friends, Kiore and Te Rangihirawea; two other chiefs of the party, viz.: Kere and Pakiua, fled to the Wai-rarapa for safety and did not return thence, until those whom they had deserted had worked out their own salvation, unaided by the recreant chiefs. I have mentioned these two men advisedly, for it has rarely occurred among the Maoris that a chief has been found wanting in the courage and dignity that would naturally lead him to stand by his people even to the bitter end. The only excuse that can be offered for them is that they were of the tribe called Ngati-Kahungunu, concerning whom it can be said that only the Wairoa section are warriors.

However unconscious a Maori may be of the fact, his vanity is none the less abnormal, and is exhibited in almost everything he does. In the good old days if any man of rank met with a fatal or even

serious accident, his most distant relatives would at once express their concern by robbing his family of everything they possessed. The bigger the *taua-muru* (band of robbers) the greater the respect paid to the memory of the deceased; for the view taken by the Maoris would seem to have been this: that whereas the deceased or injured man was a person of importance, therefore his misfortunes must of necessity be of interest to the whole community, and hence also it followed that to act as though nothing of note had occurred, would be tantamount to saying that the deceased was a nobody, a thing not to be thought of for one moment, since it would be a gross insult to the whole tribe. There was a time in the history of modern New Zealand when if a Maori had been thrown from his horse and injured by the fall, his justly indignant friends would have seized the animal. Again had a man's axe slipped and wounded him ever so slightly, the axe would have been demanded in payment by his relatives. The principle observed by the Maoris in all such cases was not illogical, it was this: that a man did not belong so much to himself as to his tribe, who had a heavy lien on his energies, and therefore the shedding of his blood, although accidental, must be regarded as an injury inflicted on the tribe.

The Maori of the old school was a suspicious but dignified man, careful not to wound the feelings of others, and exceedingly tenacious of his own rights; a man who would by no means admit that mere anxiety for the welfare of his body or soul, could justify anyone in taking liberties with him, by interfering in matters that he had a right to consider concerned him only. Naturally ceremonious and courteous the Maori never failed to recognise superiority of rank, which is to him one of the chief incidents of life, he therefore regards the theory that all men are born equal as an unqualified absurdity.

Probably but few Europeans are aware that the Arawa tribe have a form of address or reply suitable to the rank of the person with whom they are conversing, such as, *ae Pa* (yes sir), *ae Tana* (yes, my lord). The most respectful form of address to young and married people, is "*E moi*." To salute an old man of even ordinary rank in the Arawa tribe, as "*E ta*" is simply insulting, and yet it is done every day by Europeans. The Ngati-Porou differ much from the Arawa in this point, they use the word "*tama*" as synonymous with young chief; therefore "*E ta*" is with them a respectable form of salutation to the elder members of a family, as is also "*E hika*" for the younger members, but whatever differences there may be between the various tribes, the behaviour of the Maoris one to another may be summed up in a few words; each tribe uses the form of address that it deems to be the most respectful.

When a *Pakeha* of a certain class salutes an old or middle-aged Maori—who has not been degraded by contact with the lower edge of

our civilization—with “Tenakoe Jack,” that Maori feels that he has lost caste, and that had this occurred in the good old times when a man carried both spear and tomahawk, he would have taught that man manners at small cost.

It would be good for us if we could but persuade a Maori to stand up and say what he thought of us ; I do not think it could be done, for the strain upon his sense of politeness would be too great ; but if it could, he would probably speak somewhat as follows :—“ Let there be someone in every *Pakeha* household, who shall be capable of teaching the inmates how to behave, so that at least they shall not laugh openly at the wisdom of the Maoris, which, although perhaps not understood by them, they must know is the result of many generations of experience. Those things that the Maoris do firmly believe in ought not to be laughed at, even though they appear to be absurd to strangers, forasmuch that the Maori has many gods who attend the behests of those *tohungas* who know how to compel their obedience ; and hence in some respects the Maori has a knowledge superior to that of the *Pakeha* who has but one God, and it must be clear to every one that however great the *mana* of that deity might be, he could not possibly attend to everyone and therefore the *Pakeha* loses many things in this way ; but being ignorant he does not realise his loss, and laughs childishly at the things he does not understand.” He might perhaps add that there were other matters in which the *Pakeha* were deficient, and as to which they ought to be instructed. Let them learn how to enter a strange village with dignity. Why should they invariably nod or grin at all of the inferior people of the place, and shake hands with all of the girls and very young men ; in fact behave generally as though they were *tangata ware* (plebeians). Do they think that the old men or chiefs will notice them if they do these things ? When they enter a *pa*, or village, let them stare straight before them over the heads of those present as though unconscious of their very existence ; let them walk direct to the *whare-manuhiri* (guest house) and there seat themselves, taking no notice whatever of those who are calling welcome. When food is brought they will eat, and when they have finished the leading men of the village will rise in the inverse order of their rank and welcome them, and by this arrangement they will ascertain who the leading men are. Above all be careful not to ask of any man his name, for he may perchance be a chief of importance, and in such case you ought to know his name without asking. Under any circumstance the question is an awkward one for a Maori.

Very much more than this might our old *rangatira* say, if he could but be persuaded to state publicly, that which I have heard from him in the privacy of his own *whare*.



NOTES AND QUERIES.

[168] **Maori and Moa Remains, Rakai Creek.**

On January 30, I received from Mr. A. H. Shury and Mr. C. Walker, of Ashburton, an almost complete Maori skull, with two ulni, together with some moa bones, which they had found at the mouth of the Rakai Creek, that rises on and flows for some distance on the delta and enters the main river close to its mouth. In handing me the bones they stated that there were more obtainable from the face of the perpendicular sand bank, near the mouth of the creek. A week later Mr. Tennant, of the Ashburton High School, and I, drove to the mouth of the Rakai, taking with us both tools and rods, for bone digging and trout fishing. The river, being generally dangerous to anyone fording it on foot, was comparatively low, and we had no difficulty in fording the main stream, and reaching the bone-bed. On examining the latter we observed that much labour would be required to unearth the bones which were buried three feet from the surface, under the blown sand. One adult skeleton which I dug out had associated with it some immature bones, and one femur of a small species of moa. We also obtained the skull of a Maori dog, which Captain Hutton states differs in nowise from the typical skulls of the extinct species. Before digging out the skeleton I cleared away sufficient of the sloping sand beneath the face to enable me to dig underneath the bones to ascertain how they lay. The body had, however, been laid on its back, as the position of the bones clearly indicated.

There can be little doubt but that the coast region of the Rakai was long a populous haunt of the contemporaneous Maori and moa. The large area of rank, swampy vegetation would form ideal feeding grounds for the huge graminivorous birds, while the warm sandy flats and drifts would also provide perfect nesting places for them. Although the late Sir Julius von Haast wrote some excellent papers on "The Rakai Moa Hunter Encampment" (Transactions N.Z. Institute, vol. III.), it invariably seems to me that greater justice will yet have to be done to this interesting district, both ethnologically and zoologically.—W. W. SMITH.

[169] **The Greenstone as a Fish.**

Most students of Maori tradition will remember that in the native mind there is an idea that greenstone (jade) is a fish, or found inside a fish; also that it is soft at first, and then hardens on exposure. If the latter is not true of New Zealand jade, it may possibly be the fact in regard to the Asiatic variety. An old Chinese writer says:—"All jade in its natural state is found in the rocky bed of a flowing stream. Before it has been removed from its place, the jade inside the rough block is as soft as cotton-wool, but when removed it becomes hard at once, and when exposed to the air still harder." Heinrich Fischer tells us that when Hermann von Schlagintweit visited the jade-quarries in the Kara-Kash Valley, he found the newly excavated stone much softer than the exposed material. What are the facts? Is it true of greenstone (*pounamu*)? Or is it only true of Asiatic jade? Or is the Maori notion an ancestral memory of a land where jade is believed to be soft.—ED. TREGGAR.

[170] *Waru*.

In POLYNESIAN JOURNAL, vol. xiii., page 65, the word "*Waru*" is translated "Winter." Is this only a slip? It has hitherto, in many translations been considered as equivalent to "Summer." —ED. TREGGAR.

[We think Mr. Treggar is right. *Waru* is usually considered to be February. —EDITOR.]

[171] The *Pai-marire* word *Hau*.

Most of us who remember the old war times and the shouts of the Hanhau fanatics, with their cry of "*Pai-marire, Hau! Hau! Hau!*" will read the following quotation with great interest.—"The Mussulmans frequently use the name *Hu* or *Hau*, which has almost the same signification as Jehovah, that is, "He who is." They place this name in the beginning of their rescripts, passports, and letters-patent. They pronounce it often in their prayers, some so vehemently crying out with all their strength, "*Hau! Hau! Hau!*" that at last they are stunned and fall into fits, which they call ecstasies."—(Calmek's Dictionary "Jehovah," Bohn's 13th edition, 1855, p. 15). The *Hau* described by Elsdon Best both as "god" and "spirit" (or god-medium), and the mystery surrounding the real meaning of *Whangai-hau*, together with the regal associations connected with the word *hau*, in Polynesia, make the above quotation worth notice.—ED. TREGGAR.

[172] *Poe*, as a name for the *Tui*.

In Mr. S. Percy Smith's paper on "Wars of Northern against Southern Tribes," vol. xiii. of this Journal, p. 27, Dumont d'Urville is translated as saying, "ornamented with the plumes of the *Poe*, a very remarkable bird," and a note adds, "Possibly *Pohoi*, a tuft of feather worn in the ear." Allow me to point out that many early visitors to New Zealand (including Captain Cook) received the word *Poe* or *Poepoe*, as the name of the parson-bird (*tui*). It is curious that the name has not survived.—ED. TREGGAR.

OBITUARY.

We very much regret to notice by the Sydney papers, that one of our oldest members, **John Fraser, LL.D.**, has died at the New Hebrides. Dr. Fraser is well known to the readers of this Journal as the author of many philological papers treating of the Polynesian and Melanesian languages. In him we lose a valuable member and a genial correspondent. We copy the following notice from a Sydney paper:—"Death of Dr. John Fraser.—News of the death of Dr. John Fraser, late headmaster of Sauchie House School, West Maitland, has been brought to Sydney by the *Tambo*. The deceased was on a visit to the island of Eromanga, the scene of the martyrdom of the late Rev. John Williams, in the New Hebrides Group, and he was the guest there of the Rev. H. A. Robertson, the Presbyterian missionary. The late Dr. Fraser was collaborating with the Rev. H. A. Robertson with the view of issuing a second edition of the work, "*Eromanga, the Martyr Isle*." The Rev. H. A. Robertson is the author of this work, which was edited by Dr. Fraser. From what can be gathered, the deceased was suddenly struck down by illness, and when the *Tambo* called at Eromanga he was conveyed to the island of Ambrym, where the Presbyterian New Hebrides Mission Hospital is situated. The late Dr. Fraser, who was highly esteemed, received every possible attention, but on the *Tambo* calling at Ambrym on the return journey it was learned that he passed away on May 2. The late Dr. Fraser had lived in Maitland nearly half a century. For a time he was headmaster of the High School, in the building next to the Presbyterian Church, Free Church Street, and later he conducted a grammar school at Sauchie House. For many years he was a trustee of the Glebe (Presbyterian Church) Property." In addition to the work quoted he was the author of a work on the languages of the Australian blacks, and (it is said) of a work on the Etruscans.



TRANSACTIONS AND PROCEEDINGS

POLYNESIAN SOCIETY.

THE Council met on September 20, 1904—Present: Messrs. S. P. Smith (President), F. P. Corkill, W. Kerr, W. L. Newman, J. H. Parker, and W. H. Skinner.

It was resolved "That His Excellency Lord Plunket be requested to accept the position of Patron to the Society."

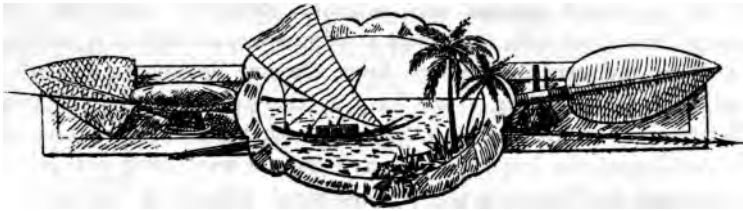
Reference was made to the loss sustained by the Society in the death of one of its original members, Dr. Fraser, a frequent and valued contributor to the JOURNAL, also to the death of one of our corresponding members, Te Kahui Kararehe, of Rāhotu, Taranaki.

The following new members were elected:—

360 Herbert Guthrie Smith, Tutira, Hawkes Bay, and
Major H. P. Tu-nui-a-rangi, Featherston, as a corresponding member.

Papers received since last issue of JOURNAL:—

- 259 *Pukapuka Island*. Rev. J. J. K. Hutchin.
- 260 *The Ngati-Kahungunu Occupation of Wairarapa*. S. Percy Smith.
- 261 *Polynesian Languages*. Dr. D. Macdonald.
- 262 *Maori Medical Lore*. Elsdon Best.
- 263 *The Maori People*. W. E. Gudgeon.
- 264 *The Maori "Toa"*. W. E. Gudgeon.
- 265 *Some Maori Songs*. H. G. Smith.
- 266 *The "Lei," an ancient symbol from Atiu Island*. W. E. Gudgeon.



THE ASIATIC (SEMITIC) RELATIONSHIP OF THE OCEANIC FAMILY OF LANGUAGES: TRILITERALISM AND INTERNAL VOWEL CHANGE.

BY REV. DR. D. MACDONALD, EFATE, NEW HEBRIDES.

[NOTE.—The Semitic letters are expressed in the following paper thus:—
' (Aleph, like *h* in *hour*); *b*; *g*; *d* (softer than our *d*); *h*; *v* (*w*, *u*); *z*; *h'* (a stronger *h*); *t'* (a guttural *t*); *y* (*i*); *k*; *l*; *m*; *n*; *s*; ' (a gargling sound in the throat, 'Ain'); *p*" (*f*); *t'*" (= *ts*); *k'* (= *k*, or '); *r*; *s* (= *s*, or *s'* = *sh*); *t* (= *t* or *th*). There were originally as is still plain from the Arabic also *d'* (like *th* in *that*, *with*); *h'* (like *ch* in Scotch *loch*); *t'* (sometimes like *th* in *this*); " (a rougher gargling sound than '); *t'*" (like *th* in *this*).]

IN accordance with previous papers in this JOURNAL it is now to be endeavoured to be shewn that the Oceanic primitive language had like each of its sister dialects, Arabic, Assyrian, &c., its share of the common stock of purely and exclusively Semitic triliteral words (nouns and verbs) with the purely Semitic common method of word formation or inflexion by internal vowel change, and external additions (prefixed or infixed, suffixed) and its share also of the limited common stock of purely Semitic particles. This, if it can be shewn, will be admitted to be conclusive. The particles will be dealt with in a subsequent paper. The external formative additions have been dealt with in previous papers in this JOURNAL: see the JOURNAL for the last quarter of 1896 for the formative prefixes (and infixes) and that for June, 1901, for the formative suffixes.

The ancient Semitic finite verb, with its perfect and imperfect, was simply a verbal noun joined in a certain way with the personal pronouns, and from it again other and numerous verbal nouns were

formed by vowel change and external formative additions. The ancient finite verb with its perfect and imperfect so formed is no longer found in the existing broken down Oceanic languages, though as analytic substitutes for it we have as the finite verb for instance in Efatese "the verbal pronoun" joined with these verbal nouns after the fashion of the Imperfect, as *aba* I (am, or was) going = I go (or I went), and in Malagasy the "pronominal adjunctive" joined with these verbal nouns, after that of the perfect, as *tiaku* my loving = I loved, or, I love. The verbal nouns that were formed from the ancient finite verb were numerous, and in them we have the ground-forms of the modern Oceanic verb. We may compare in this paper with the following Arabic forms:—

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|--|----------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. <i>fa'l</i> (fa'lu, or fa'lo, fa'li, fa'la*; in the rest I shall not give these final vowels, but the reader should bear them in mind). | | | |
| 2. <i>fi'l</i> . | 10. <i>fa'ālat</i> . | 17. <i>fa'il</i> . | 24. <i>maf'al</i> . |
| 3. <i>fu'l</i> . | 11. <i>fi'al</i> . | 18. <i>fa'il</i> . | 25. <i>maf'il</i> . |
| 4. <i>fa'lat</i> . | 12. <i>fi'āl</i> . | 19. <i>fa'ilat</i> . | 26. <i>maf'ilat</i> . |
| 5. <i>fi'lat</i> . | 13. <i>fi'ālat</i> . | 20. <i>fa'ilat</i> . | 27. <i>maf'ul</i> . |
| 6. <i>fu'lat</i> . | 14. <i>fu'al</i> . | 21. <i>fa'ūl</i> . | 28. <i>maf'ulat</i> . |
| 7. <i>fa'al</i> . | 15. <i>fu'āl</i> . | 22. <i>fi'ūlat</i> (Heb.) | 29. <i>maf'alat</i> . |
| 8. <i>fa'āl</i> . | 16. <i>fu'ālat</i> . | 23. <i>fu'ūl</i> . | 30. <i>fu'ulat</i> . |
| 9. <i>fa'alat</i> . | | | |

Of these forms 1—6 are the commonest in Oceanic. The difference from the Arabic form is mainly in the last vowel of 1—8 (this last vowel is not written in the above as explained) and in the two last vowels of 4—6 (the last being this same unwritten terminal) there being for the final *u*, or *o*, when it is not elided, sometimes *a*, or *i*, and for the *a* before the *-t*, often *u*, or *o*, as in other Semitic languages. We now proceed to compare the Oceanic trilateral words with Arabic, Assyrian, &c., just as, for instance, we compare, say Assyrian or Himyaritic words with Arabic, Hebrew, Syriac, or Ethiopic.

Take for example Efate *lifai* to bend round, *malibai* bent (the final *i*, transitive particle, is explained in the paper above cited) *lofa* a thing bent, *lofai* to bend, *malofa* bent, *kalofa*, or *kolofo* bent, *lufa* (Samoan *lavalava*) a wrapper round the loins, Samoan *lofa* to crouch, *lofata'ina* to cause to crouch, *lave*, *lavelave* (Arabic *lafelafa* to wrap round, &c.) to entangle, *lavelavea* to be entangled (for *-a*, and *-ta'ina*, see the paper cited). Fiji *love*, *lovetha* (Samoan *lavasi* to coil, fold, to bend, *kalore* bent, *salore* flexible, Malay *lipat*, *lampit*, *lapit*, *lampis*, *lapis*, a fold, to fold, *pluit*; Malagasy *lefitra* folded, bent, *plaited*.

* In Arabic as in the Semitic mother tongue every noun ended with one of these italicised vowels, *u*, or *o* (nominative); *i* (genitive); *a* (accusative). Generally the other Semitic languages, and the modern Oceanic use these final vowels indiscriminately, without case signification.

Arabic *laffa* to be involved, intertwined, to warp up, wrap round (oneself, as clothing), to fold, *laff*, *liff*, *laffat*, *liffat*, involved, intertwined, &c., *loffa*, *loffat*, coil of turban, winding of road. In this example the above given six commonest forms of the modern Oceanic verb (or noun) the ancient verbal noun, are seen viz. :—

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|------------------|--|---------------------|
| 1. <i>lave</i> . | 3. <i>lofa</i> , <i>love</i> , <i>lufa</i> . | 5. <i>lipat</i> . |
| 2. <i>lifa</i> . | 4. <i>lampit</i> , <i>larasi</i> . | 6. <i>loretha</i> . |

The inference is irresistible that in the Oceanic primitive or mother tongue this word was trilateral, and had the vowel changes peculiar to the Semitic languages most fully preserved in the ancient Arabic; and that as a trilateral word with the middle radical doubled it underwent the usual contractions, set forth in all Semitic grammars, of such words, as is plainly seen by comparing with the Arabic. These forms, originally verbal nouns and still often used as such, formed from the ancient finite verb, as *lipat* a fold, *lofa* a thing bent, or bending, have become ground-forms of the modern verb, as *lipat*, *lipatkan* to fold, *lofai* to bend, from which again are formed by external additions modern verbal nouns, and derived verb forms. Thus we have *lipatan* a fold, *lofai* a bending or being bent, *lavelavea* entangled or entangling, *malibai* bent; and the derived verb forms (see the paper of 1896 above cited).

Safal, Fiji *salove* flexible.

Mafal, Malay *malipat* to fold, plait.

Mifal, Malagasy *milafitra* folded.

Tafal, Fiji *kalove*, Efate *kalofa* bent.

Manfal, Malagasy *mandifitra* to fold, bend.

Matafal, Samoan *fa'alave* to take turn of a rope as round a pin.

It is not proposed to give these modern verbal nouns, and derived verb forms for the following words, but they may easily be found in the dictionaries.

As is seen in this example the vowels of the ground-forms of the Oceanic verb are retained in the modern derived forms and verbal nouns. It is in the ground forms therefore that we find the proof of the part played in the ancient language (the primitive Oceanic) by internal vowel change.

To shew that this is a fair specimen of modern Oceanic words, that it is not exceptional but only one out of the mass and of a piece with the rest, would prove conclusively that the Oceanic primitive or mother tongue had like each of the sister dialects, Arabic, Assyrian, &c., its share of the purely and exclusively common stock of Semitic trilateral words with the purely Semitic common method of word-formation or inflexion by internal vowel change and external additions. This then is what we have now to endeavour to shew, and we may begin with words belonging to the same special class as this, viz. :

TRILITERALS WITH THE SECOND RADICAL DOUBLED.

The figures refer to the above given verbal noun forms 1—80. Efate 1 *tabu*, Maori *tapu*, prohibited; Arabic (*dabba* to prohibit) 1 *dabbu*, a prohibiting, or being prohibited.

Efate 1, *malo*, Malay 4, *malas*, disgusted, loathe, unwilling, averse. Arabic (*malla* to loathe, be disgusted, unwilling, averse) 1 *mallo*, 4 *mallat*.

Efate 1, *tefa*; Fiji 4, *tura*, to put in a series, range troops in order of battle. Arabic *t'affa* to set or place in order in a series, to arrange the line of battle) 1 *t'aff*.

Efate 1 *kari*, *karo*, to scratch, scrape, shave, sieze, grasp; *karo*, the throat, gullet; *kārī*, a plane; Malay *garu*, to rake; Efate 3 *ngura*, to rake; Malagasy 3 *kory*, to scrape; Efate 6 *ngurasi*, to gnaw; Efate 4 *karaka*, *karati*, *karisi*, *karafi*, *karuti*; Malay *garit*, *garis*, *garut*, *garok*, *garap*, *karut*, *karok*; Malagasy, *haratra* to shave; Arabic (*garra* to drag, snatch, sweep, sieze; Hebrew *garar*, to scrape, sweep, saw); Ar. 1, *garr*; 4, *garrat*; 6, *gurrat*; H., *garon*, the throat, gullet.

Efate 1 *kalu*; 3, *kulu*, a covering, as of cloth or a mat, to cover oneself with such; 4, *kaluti*; 6, *kuluti*, to cover with such, to clasp one round so as to hold him; Malagasy 6, *hodina*; Malay, *guling*, *gulong*, *goling*; 5 *giling*, to roll. Arabic (*galla* to cover, &c., Hebrew *galal* to roll) 1, *gallu*; 3, *gullu*, a covering; Hebrew *gilgal*, a wheel, a whirlwind, compare the analogous Malagasy *hadinkodina* turned repeatedly.

Efate 3, *kusi*, and, with *k* elided, *usi*, to follow, to track, to narrate; Malay 6, *usir*, to pursue; Arabic *k'at't'a*, to track, to narrate.

Efate 3 *soka*, to leap, go swiftly, be inflamed with anger, to spear, inivit *mulierem*; Samoan *Soso'a*, Tongan *hoka*, to spear, pierce; Arabic *zak'h'a*, to leap, to go with vehemence, to burn with rage, inivit *mulierem*, to project, to throw.

Efate 2 *sievo*, 3 *seewa*,* to descend, downward; Fiji, *sobu*; Samoan 2, *ifo*; Tongan, *hifo*; Tahiti, *iho*; Syrian, *s'ab*, to let down, be let down, descend. This in Arabic would be *s'abba*. In Tahiti and in Syrian there is also the signification of *proximity* in this word.

Malagasy 4, *haraka*, scorched, dried up, parched; Malay, *garing*, *kring*; Efate 1, *kara*, dry; Arabic, *h'arra*; Hebrew, *h'arar*, to be hot, burned, dried up.

Malagasy 1, *tany*, Efate, *tangi*, to sound, clank, tinkle, hum, wail; Malay 4 *tangis*, Efate; Samoan, *tangisi*; Arabic, *t'anna*, to tinkle, clank, ring, hum.

Efate 3, *kofu*, to wrap up, enclose, to clothe; Tongan, *kofu*; Samoan, *ō'ofu*, to put on a garment; Efate 4, *kafuti*, to wrap up,

* ? *suwa*—(Ed.)

enclose; Efate, *kofu*; Samoan, 'ofu'ofu; Fiji 6, *kovuna*, to envelope in leaves food gathered into a mass to be cooked in the oven; Efate, *kofukofua* (-a, for -ana) bent so as to be concave, so Maori *kohu*, *kokohu*; Efate, *k* elided, 3 *ofa*, 1 *aba*, to whirl round, so Tahiti *ohu*, which also denotes to bend downwards, to stoop; Hawaiian *ohuohu*, heavy; Efate 1, *kabu* (d *koau*) the native food ("pudding") gathered into a mass wrapped in leaves and cooked in the oven, the principal daily food of the natives, so Arabic *kobba*, *kabab*, "kibby" the national dish of the Arabs gathered into a round mass and cooked in the oven. Arabic *kabba* to roll up into a ball, to make into balls food for cooking; to invert, to stoop, to be heavy; *kabhaba*, to be wrapped up, enveloped, to wrap up or envelope oneself (in one's garment); Ethiopic *kabab*, to whirl round.

Efate 1 *saru*, Malay *saru*, Efate 21 *saruru*, to sound, resound, roar; Arabic (*t'arra* to make a noise, sound, roar) 1, *t'arru*; 18 *t'arir*.

Efate 1 *kaf* bent; Maori *kapu*, curly, the hollow of the hand, Efate *ka'fikāfī*, a native basket, to put the hand into such a basket to feel for and take out something; Arabic, *kaffa*, to take something stealthily between the fingers; Hebrew, *kafaf*, to bend, *kaf*, the hollow of the hand, a hollow vessel, and as to the form compare with *ka'jēkāfē* Arabic *kafēkafa*.

Efate 1 *kasi*, to rub; Samoan 'asi; Malay 6, *gosot*, *gosok*, 5 *gisik*, *kisil*; Malagasy 4, *kasoko*, to rub; Arabic (*k'as's'a* to rub) *k'as's'u*.

Efate 1 *raka*, 24 *maraka*, to desire, will, be willing, desirous of; Syriac, *rag*, to desire, will, (this in Arabic would be *ragga*) 2 *rega*, desire, will.

Efate 1, *silā*, *silasila*, to sound, crackle, rattle (as thunder); Samoan *fai-tilitile*; Maori *whai-tiri* thunder, Maori *tiri* to crackle; Arabic *t'alla*, *t'alāt'ala*, to sound, crackle, crack, as thunder.

Efate 1 *kala*, Malagasy 2 *kely*, or *kily*, little, 5 *kelez*, in imperative passive *kelezo*, verbal noun *kelezina*: *kelezo* is for *kelezy* of which the *y=i* in the other Oceanic languages, and written *i* in *kelezina*, 23 *kololy* very small, *hilihily* (and *kedikedy*) to move to and fro, Efate *makalakala* to move about quickly (as ants). Arabic (*k'alla*, Hebrew *k'alal* to be little) 1, *k'allu*, *k'alli*, *k'alla*, 5 *k'illat*; Hebrew *k'ilk'el* (pilpel); Arabic *k'alēk'ala* to move to and fro.

Efate 2, *siba*, 8 *suba* (*masiba*, a fragment, broken); Fiji *sove*, to break; Malagasy 6, *sombina*, fragment, broken; Hebrew, Chaldū *s'abab* (this in Arabic would be *s'abba*) to break, Chaldū *s'ibba* a fragment.

Efate 3, *sumi*, 6 *sumili*; Malay, *sumpat*, *sumbat*, *sumpal*, 1 *sampal*; Malagasy *tampina*, to plug, stop an aperture; Arabic *t'amma*, to plug, stop an aperture.

TRILITERALS WITH THE MIDDLE RADICAL *v* AND *y*.

Efate 1, *mate*; Samoan, *mati*; Malay, *mati*; Malagasy, (*faty* a corpse) *maty*, to die, be dead; Malagasy 4, *matesa*; Mangarevan *mater* in *materanga*. Arabic *māta* to die, be dead, 1 (*matv*) *mat*.

Efate 1, *masi* to shave; Arabic *māsa* to shave, 1 (*mavv*) *mas*.

Efate 1 *langa*, 4 *langat*, to raise; Samoan 1, *langa*; Maori *ranga*, to raise, Efate *langi* up, above, the sky, heaven; Maori *rangi*; Malay 4, *langit*; Malagasy, *lanitra* id.; Maori 3 *runga*, the top, upper part, upwards, on high; Samoan, *lunga*; Hawaiian, *luna*, id.; Hebrew, *ram* (in Arabic this would be *rama*) to be high, to raise, *rum*, height, elevation, *ramah*, *ramat*, Ethiopic *rama*, a high place, third heaven (Ethiopic).

Efate 3, *soro*, *sore*, *suru*; Malagasy 6, *sodoka*, *sodika*, to tell lies, to deceive; Arabic *zāra* to tell lies, 3 *zuru* or *zoro*.

Efate 25, *mitiri*, *mitsiri*; Malay 6, *tulis*; Malagasy, *soratra*, *soritra*, to make figures, draw, paint, write (Samoan *tusi*, Maori *tuhi*) 6 *turat*; Arabic *t'āra* (*e*) to form, make figures, draw paint.

Efate 3, *suru*; Malagasy 4, *sarona*; Malay 6, *suruk*, to conceal; Ethiopic, *savara*, (this in Arabic would be *sāra*) to cover, conceal.

Efate 1 *tani*, 3 *tuni*, 4 *tanumi*, *tanumaki*; Malay, *tanam*; Samoan, *tanumia*, *tanuma'i*, to cover with earth, soil; Arabic *t'āna* to cover with earth, clay, soil.

Efate 1 *tiri*, sometimes pronounced *riri*; Maori, *rere*; Samoan, *lele*, to fly; Arabic *t'āra* to fly, 1 *tayr* or *tair*.

Efate 1, *afa ki*; Malagasy 4, *afina*, to conceal, bury; Efate 3, *ofa ki*; Samoan *ufi*, 6 *ufita'i*, *ufitia*, to cover, conceal; Efate 3, *uri*; Samoan *ufi*; Malay *ubi*; Malagasy *ovy*, the yam (so called as being a root buried in the ground, or covered with earth); Arabic "*āba*, to be concealed, to conceal, to bury, 1 "*ayb*, 4 "*aybat* (of "*ayab*, roots).

Mota 2 *esu*, Polynesian 3 *ora*, *ola*; Malay 6, *urip*; Java 5, *idup*; Efate 25, *mairi*; Malagasy 26, *velona*; Efate 27 *mauri*, dialect *mola*; Fiji *bula*; Tanna 28 *murif*, *murep*, life, to live; Arabic '*ās'a*, to live, 5 *ēs'at*, 26 *maīs'at*, 25 *maīs'*.

From the examples of verbs middle radical *v* and *y* it is clear from comparison with the Arabic that in the ancient Oceanic such words underwent the regular contractions set forth in Semitic grammars.

TRILITERALS WITH ', *h*, *h'* (AND *h''*), AND ' (AND ' ') MIDDLE RADICAL.

In the Oceanic languages these verbs are contracted like those with *v* and *y*. In Assyrian Sayer (*Assy. Gr.*) classes verbs middle radical *v*, *y*, ' , *h* altogether as concave or quiescent verbs. In the Semitic languages in the course of their analytic development these consonants tend to become all alike quiescent, as for instance in Mandaean. In Assyrian, according to Delitzsch (*Assy. Gr.*) ' , *h*, *h'* (and *h''*), ' (and ')

were all pronounced alike as *'*, or spiritus lenis, that is like *h* in *hour*: the modern Oceanic as distinctly compares in this with the Assyrian, as it does in the verbal noun forms with the Arabic. It is certain, however, that all these consonants were not always so pronounced, or quiescent, in ancient Oceanic. That they have become so especially when the middle radical of verbs is to be explained not only from their natural tendency to quiesce but also from the fact that in the verbal noun forms 1–6, which are the common ground forms of the Oceanic verb, the middle radical always lost its vowel. However, it may be explained the fact is certain as a few examples will shew.

Efate 3, *bolo* or *folo*; Fiji 1, *vala*, to do, to act; Efate 6, *bolosi*; Fiji 4, *valata*; Arabic *fa'ala* to do, to act, 1 *fa'l*, 4 *fa'lat*.

Efate 3, *sulu*, a torch, to light by a torch, to scorch with flame; Samoan, *sulu*, a torch, to light by a torch; Malay 6, *suluh*, a torch; Malagasy, 3 *tsolo*, 2 *tsilo*, 5 *tsilovana* to light by a torch; Arabic, *s'a'ala*, to kindle a fire, light a torch, 6 *s'u'lat* flame.

Efate 3, *soro*, to burn, flame (of fire, of rage); Maori, *toro*; Efate 6, *sorofi*, to burn, to flame with rage; Fiji, *thoronga*, to scorch; Arabic, *sa'ara*, to kindle a fire, to rage, 3 *su'ru* or *so'ro* flame of fire, flame of rage.

Efate, *bara*, to burn be burned, kindle, 21 *bauri*, *bauria*, to kindle a fire in the oven; Samoan 1, *vela*, 4 *velasia*; Maori, *wera*; Tahiti, *vera*, to burn, to heat, to be cooked; Hebrew, *ba'ar*, to kindle, burn, be burned; Arabic 1 would be *ba'r*, 21 *ba'ur*.

Efate 1, *tangi*, 2 *tine*, to carry sail (a canoe), *mitanga*, *miten*, to be laden, heavy, 12 *tiana*, or *tiena* laden, gravid; Malagasy 1, *entana*, burden; Malay 4, *tanggung*, to bear, carry; Syrian, *t'en*, to bear, be laden, *t'ana*, burden, *t'ina*, laden, gravid.

Efate 12, *miala*, or *miela* to be red; Samoan 1, *melo*; Malagasy, *mena*, red; Malay, *mera* red, reddish brown, bay; Arabic, *ma'ara* (4) to yield red milk mixed with blood, *ma'ir* red, *ma'ar* reddish.

Efate 1, *lami*, to eat; Samoan, *lamu*, to chew; Hebrew, *lah'am*, to eat; Arabic 1, would be *lah'm*.

Malekula 3 *roso*, 6 *rosori*; Efate 3, *loso*, to wash; Arabic, *rah'at'a*, to wash, 3 (would be) *roh't'o*.

Efate 3, *rumi*; Fiji, *loma*; Samoan, *alofa*, to compassionate, to love, Fiji 6, *lomana*; Samoan (*in*) *alofangia*, *fealofani*; Maori (*in*) *arohatia*; Fiji, *loma*, the heart, the inner parts, midst or inside of a thing; Arabic, *rah'ima*; Hebrew, *rah'am*, to compassionate, to love; Arabic 3, *ruh'm* or *roh'm*; Hebrew, *reh'em*, the inner parts.

Efate 2, *sila*, to peel, shave off; Malagasy 5, *silatra*, *silaka*; Arabic, *sah'ala*, to peel, shave off.

Efate 2, *senu*, 3 *tunu*, to heat, be hot, inflamed; Malagasy, Malay, Samoan, Fiji, *tunu*; Malagasy 4, *tanina*, *tanika*; Fiji 6, *rakatununa*;

Arabic, *sah'ana*, to heat, be hot, inflamed, 8 *suhnu* and *t'uh'nu*, 6 *suh'nat*, 4 *sahnat*.

Efate 3, *bono*, to be shut, closed, secret, 6 *bonoti*, *bunuti*, *monoti*, *munuti*, to shut, close, stop, cover, conceal; Maori 1, *pani*, to shut; Hawaiian, *pani*, to shut, conceal; Tahiti 3, *puni*, to be enclosed, to hide, *tapuni*, to hide; Mangaiian, *puni*, to hide; Tongan, *buni*, closed, shut, *tabuni*, to shut, to close up; Samoan 6, *punita'i*, *punitia*, to stop with, to be shut up, and *monoti*, to stop, cork, plug; Malay 3, *buni*, hidden, to hide, (and Sanfal form as in Amharic) *sambuni*, hidden, concealed, secret; Java 6, *buntu*, closed up, shut; Efate, *bunuta*, mute, silent (English "shut up" = silent); Hebrew, *baham* or *bahan*, to shut, to cover; Arabic, *bahama*, to shut, close, be covered, hid, mute, silent.

Efate 1, *safa*, *sefa*, to pant, to hasten, 3 *sofa* phthisis (panting) to pant, (to have phthisis) to hasten; Malagasy 1, *sefo*, asthma, *sefosefo*, or *serosero*, hurry, haste, breathless, 4 *sevoka*, in haste, bustling; Hebrew, *s'a'af*, to pant, to hasten.

Efate 1, *bami* or *fami*, to eat; Tahiti, *hamu*, gluttonous, to go to a feast whenever one occurs, to be burdensome to others by eating their food; Hawaiian, *hamu*, to eat fragments of food; Maori, *hamu*, feeding on fragments; Tongan, *hamu*, to eat one kind of food only; Mangarevan, *amu*, to eat with the mouth, not using the hands; Hebrew, Ethiopic *pa'am*, *fa'ama*; Arabic, *fa'ama*, to have the mouth full of food, to swallow down.

TRILITERALS WITH THE THIRD RADICAL: ', *v* (*w*), *y* (*i*), *h*,
h' (and *h''*), ' (and ").

Efate 2, *siko*, to look at; Malagasy, *zaha*; Hebrew, *sakah*; Chaldæan, *sēka*, to look at.

Efate 23, *tubu*, to swell, *tobu*, a tumour, *tumbu*, *tuma*, will; Efate, *futum*, dialect *bisobu*; Polynesian 23, *tupu*, *tubu*; Malagasy, *tombo*, to spring forth, grow, increase; Malay 24, *tumbuh*; Samoan, *tupu'* and *tupul*, in *tupu'anga*, *tupula'i*; Hebrew, *t'abah*, to come forth, to swell, to will; Aramaic, *t'eba* to will, *t'ebu* will; Arabic, *t'aba'a* and *t'abu'a*, to come forth, rise, spring up, project, 23 *t'ubu*, 24 *t'ubut*.

Efate 2, *kili*; Maori 1, *kari*, *keri*; Malay, *gali*; Malagasy, *hady*; Fiji, *kali*, 4 *kalia*, *kaliva*, to dig; Arabic, *kara*, (third radical *v*); Ethiopic, *karaya*, (third radical *y*); Hebrew, *karah*, (third radical *h*); Aramaic, *kēra*, (third radical '), to dig; Arabic 1, *karev*; Ethiopic 4, *keryat*.

Efate, Fiji, *tatalai*, to warm oneself at the fire; Arabic, *t'ala*, 1 *t'aly*, (5) *t'atala(y)* to feel the heat of fire, to warm oneself at the fire.

Samoan, *talotalo*; Tahiti, *tarotaro*, to pray, 4 *talosia*; Efate *tarotaro*, 4 *tarosi*, to pray; Arabic, *t'ala*; Ethiopic, *t'alaya*, to pray, 4 *t'alot*.

Efate, 2 *tili*, 3 *tuli*; Malay, *tutur*; Samoan 1, *tala*; Malagasy 3,

tory, to narrate, tell ; Malay 6, *turut*, to follow ; Arabic, *tala*, to follow, to recite, secondary verb from *wala(y)* (8).

Efate 8, *toko*, (shortened) to *matoko*, to sit, rest upon, stay ; Malay, *duduk*, *totok* ; Fiji 2, *tiko* ; Efate 6, *tokora* ; Fiji 5, *tikora* ; Malagasy 6, *toatra*, *toitra*, *toetra* ; Arabic, *taka*, to rest upon, support oneself upon, sit, recline. This is a secondary verb from Arabic *waka* (8), i.e. 'ttaka to rest upon, sit (Luke XIV. 8, Arabic version).

Efate 1, *taku*, *mataku* ; Samoan, *mata'u* ; Malay 4, *takut* ; Malagasy, *tahotra* ; Samoan, *mata'utia*, fear, to fear ; Arabic, *tak'a*, (Hebrew *ta'h'e*) to fear. This is a secondary verb from Arabic *wak'a(y)* (8) i.e. 'ttak'a, to fear (to guard oneself being afraid).

Efate 1, *karai*, to dislike, be averse from, hate ; Malay 2, *gili* ; Malagasy 1, *hala* ; Arabic, *kariha*, to dislike, abhor, 1 *karh*.

Malay 4, *s'akit* ; Iloean, *masakit* ; Efate 1, *masaki* ; Tongan, *mahaki* ; Maori, Rarotongan *maki* ; Samoan, *ma'i* ; Hawaiian, *mai*, sickness, to be ill ; Arabic, *s'aka*, to be sick, have a disease, 1 *s'aka(y)*, 4 *s'akat*.

Efate 1, *maru*, to rub, to joke ; Maori 2, *miri*, to rub ; Arabic, *marah'a*, to rub or anoint with oil, to joke, 1 *marh'*.

Samoan 18, *malie*, well, agreeable, right, proper, good ; Maori, Mangarevan *marie* ; Efate, *malei* or *milei*, good, well ; Arabic, *maluh'a*, to be elegant, beautiful, 18 *mali(y)* h', *malih'*, beautiful, good, fit, proper.

Efate 8, *boka* or *buka*, to strike, to reprehend, Malagasy *poka*, Malay 6, *pukul*, to strike, Efate *bukati* ; Arabic *baka'a*, to strike, to reprehend, 8 (would be) *buk'*, and 6 *buk'at*.

Efate 28, *roko*, also *loko*, *loku*, and *luku*, and 1 *laku*, to bow, stoop ; Samoan, *lolo'u*, to bend, curve ; Fiji, *roko*, a bowing form or posture, curved ; 24 *rokota*, to bend a bow ; *rokova*, bow to, pay respect to ; *rokoroko*, reverence, respect ; Efate 4, *lakosa ki*, 24 *lukuta ki* ; Mangarevan, *rokuroku*, a final prayer when the torches are thrown down and extinguished at a funeral ; Arabic, *raka'a*, to bow, stoop, as from old age, or in prayer, 28 *ruku'*, 4 *rak'at*.

Efate 28, *bulu*, *bule*, complete, the whole ; Tongan, *fuli*, all ; Malay, *bulah*, the whole ; Arabic, *bala'a*, to complete, to go through to the end, 28 *bulu'*.

TRILITERALS WITH THE FIRST RADICAL *v* (*w*), *y* (*i*), '*h*, *h'* (AND *h''*),
' (AND ").

Efate 21, *amosi*, *mosi*, *musi* ; Maori, *muhu*, to rub ; Arabic, *wamasa*, to rub, 21 (would be) *wamus*.

Efate 8, *bara* ; Malay, *palu* ; Malagasy, *vely* ; Efate, *barati* ; Malagasy, *velez-*, to beat ; Arabic, *wabala*, to beat.

Efate 8, *atai*, *tai* to know ; Malay, *tau* ; Hebrew, *yada'*, to know, *da'at*, *de'a*.

Efate 7, *bali*, to abstain, fast; Malagasy, *fady*; Arabic, 'abala, to abstain, fast.

Efate 8, *kani*, to eat; Fiji, *kana*; Malay 24, *makan*; Malagasy, (transposed for *mahana*) *homana*, 20 *hinana*, 10 *lanina*, to eat; Arabic, 'akala, to eat, 8 'akāl, 24 *ma'kal*; Hebrew 20, 'ākilat.

Efate 21, *rongo*, dialect, *dongo*; Maori, *rongo*, to hear, to smell; Samoan, *longo*; Malay 10, *dangar*; Malagasy, *renes*; Efate 22, *rongo*sa ki; Samoan, *longolongosa* 'i; Efate, *rongo*rongo ki, to proclaim, to report; Arabic, 'ad'ana, to hear, to smell, to proclaim, 10 'ad'anat, 21-22 (would be) 'ad'on, 'ad'onat.

Samoan 1, *efu*, dust, to become dust, dust-coloured; Malay, *abu*; Tongan, *efu*, dust, ashes; Efate, *abu*, dust, ashes; *abuabu*, to fly in the air (dust); Arabic, *haba*, to fly in the air (dust) 1, (would be) *habu*, 4 *habwat*, dust, colour of dust.

Efate 1, *ta*, to chop, cut, to speak, or utter quickly (as it were to make a chopping noise); Fiji-Samoan *ta*; Efate-Samoan, 7 or 8, *tata*; Malay 9 or 10, *tatah*; Malagasy, *tatana*; Fiji 4, *taya*, *tala* ka, *tava* ka; Arabic, *had'd'a*, to cut, to cut quickly, to chop, to utter speech quickly, 1 *had'd'a*, 7 *had'ad'*, 8 *had'ād'*, 4 (would be) *had'd'at*, and 9 *had'ad'at*.

Efate 21, *loai*, to rub, smear, 22 *alofi* and *lofi*, also *loasi*, *loari*, and doubled *loloasi*, to rub, to smear or paint the face with a cosmetic or paint; Malay, *lulut* and *lulur*, to cleanse the skin by friction and cosmetics, to rub the skin with cosmetics, to smear; Arabic, *h'ala'a*, to rub, to smear, 21 *h'alowa* or *h'aluw*, 22 (would be) *h'alowat*.

Efate 1, *elo*, to be sweet, pleasant; Hawaiian 8, *olu*; Arabic, *h'ala'*, to be sweet, pleasant, agreeable, 1 *h'alw*, 8 *h'olw*.

Efate 28, *ulu*, to grow up, produce leaves, or foliage, *ulu* a leaf, (doubled) *lulu*, to go up, be high, *ulu*, (Efate, Samoan, Malay) the head; Samoan 30, *ulua* 'i, *lua* 'i, first, (ahead); Malay 21, *alu*, head or forepart of a vessel; Malagasy 22, *aloha*, ahead, first, *loha* head; Arabic, 'ala', to go up, be high; Hebrew, 'alah, to go up, sprout forth, grow up, 'aleh a leaf; Arabic 18, 'ilawat, the head, 28 'ulw.

Samoan 8, *ulu*, 6 *uluf* (in *ulufia*, Hawaiian *uluhia*, Malagasy 5, *iditra* and *ilitra*, to enter, go in; Arabic, 'alla, to enter, go in); Chaldy, 'alal (This should have been placed above under verbs with middle radical doubled).

Efate 18, *liko*, 21 *luko* or *luku*, a rope, to adhere or be fastened to, 20 *likoti*, 22 *lukuti*, to fasten, make fast to; Malay 10, *lakat* and *lakap*, to adhere, *lakatekan* to fasten; Malagasy, *raikitra*, *rekitra*; Arabic, 'alik'a, to adhere, to fasten to, 1 'alak', a rope, 18 'alik', 20 'alik'at, 10 'alak'at, 21 'aluk'.

Efate 21, *bulu* or *fulu*, any sticky substance used to cover with as paint, to cover as with a poultice, paint, oil; Samoan, *pulu*; Tahiti,

puru; Fiji, *bulu*, an external application or thing that covers, to cover with earth or external application, to repair or expiate (cover) an injury a peace offering, or thing offered as a reparation for an injury; 22 *buluta*; Efate, *buluti*; Samoan, *puluti*, *puluta'i*; Samoan, *fulu*; Futuna, *fufuru*; Tahiti, *huru*; Efate (dialect) 18, *fili*; Malay, *bulu*; Malagasy, *volo*, hair (also down, feathers, wool); Samoan, *fulufulua*; Malagasy, *voloina*, hairy; Arabic, "*afara*, to cover, to cover and imbue (as the hair with a tincture) to be hairy, shaggy, to forgive; 18 "*afir*, hair, 21 "*afuru*.

TRILITERALS DOUBLY WEAK, THAT IS WITH TWO OF THE ABOVE
WEAK LETTERS OR QUIESCENTS.

Samoan 8, *nofo*, to sit, dwell, live with, remain; Maori-Tahiti *noho*; Efate, *no*; 6 Samoan, *nohoa*; Mangarevan, *nohoka*; Tahiti, *nohoraa*, a seat; Paumotan, *nohohanga*, *nohoranga*, abode, dwelling place; Hebrew, *navah*, to sit, to dwell (also *na'ah*); *navat*, a seat, a habitation.

Efate 1, *leo*, *le*, *lo*, to see; Samoan, *leo*; Fiji, *rai*; Fiji 4, *raittha*; Malay, *liat*, *kaliat*; Malagasy, *hiratra*, *hiratso*; Efate (dialects) *losi*, *tek*, *lumi*, *libisi*, to see; Arabic, *raa*; Hebrew, *raah*; Ethiopic, *ray*, to see; Arabic 1, *ra'i*; Hebrew, *reoh*; Ethiopic, *rai*; 4 Arabic, *ra't*, *rayat*; Hebrew, *reot* or *revot*; Arabic 6, *ruvyat*.

Efate, *ba*, (also, to go) *bai*, *be*, *mai*, to come, to enter; Marquesan, *memai*, to come; Efate and Polynesian, *mai*, hither, towards the speaker; Efate, dialect *be*; Efate 4, *basi*, enter upon, go upon; Fiji, *vatha*; Ethiopic, *bawi'*, to come, to enter; Hebrew, *bā*, to come, to enter, also to go; Arabic, *ba'a*, to enter, &c.; Ethiopic 4, *ba't*.

Efate *nēt*, dialect *notu*, (Mosin *nat*, Vaturanga *talū* outwards) to go outwards, (opposite of *mai* or *be*, preceding word) *atu* or *ats*, in *banotu*, *banats*; Maori, *whanatu*; Polynesian, *atu*, away from, outwards; Ethiopic, *wat'a*; Hebrew, *yat'a*, to go out, or outwards; Hebrew, *yat'o* (infinitive or verbal noun = *atu*) and 4 *t'e't*; Ethiopic, *t'a't* (= *tatu*, and, by change of *t'* to *n*, *nēt*, *notu*).

These two Semitic words are the opposites of each other, the one denoting "exitus, egressus, sive, excundi actus," the other (*ba*, *bawi'*) "introitus," as Ludolf, *Lex. Eth.*, observe S.V. *t'a't*.

Efate, *bano-mai* or *bana-mai*, to come, *banats*, i.e. *ban ats* to go; Maori *whanatu*; Efate, *bano*, to go; Maori, *whano*, to verge towards, to go on, proceeding towards; Hebrew, *panah*, to turn, to turn oneself, to turn the back, to turn in order to go anywhere. Thus *banotu*, *whanatu* = to turn, going away, or outwards, and *bano-mai*, *bano-be* = to turn coming, to come.

So Fiji *lako-mai* = to proceed coming, *lako*; Malay, *laku*, to proceed; Hebrew, *halak*; Assyrian, *halak*; Assyrian 7, *laku*.

For Maori *haere* in *haere atu*, *haere mai*, see below.

TRILITERALS WITH THE WEAK OR "FLEETING" LETTER *n* THE FIRST RADICAL.

How the Oceanic, in dropping this *n* compares with the Hebrew and Aramaic, and not with the Arabic.

Efate 7, *saki*, to ascend, go up; Tongan *haki*; Samoan *a'i*; Hawaiian *ae*; Maori *ake*; Aramaic, *něsak'*, to ascend, go up; Imperative (shewing the dropping of the *n*) *sak'*.

Efate 7, *bisa* or *basa*, to speak; Tagala, *basa*; Fiji 21, *vosa*, 22 *vosata* ka to speak about; Efate, *visura ki*, to converse, talk; Arabic, *nabasa* and *nabat'a*, to speak, talk.

Efate 21, *buka*, a swell, ground swell, to swell, be puffed up, then to have the belly swollen with food; Maori *puku*; Malagasy *voky*; 22 *vokis-*; Malay 7, *bakat*; Efate 22, *bukutu*; Malay, *bukit*; Malagasy, *vohitra* or *vohitsa*, a rise, a hill; Malagasy, *voavohitra*, swelled, bulged, *vohirana*, made to bulge, *vohirina* (*bohitra*) made convex, protuberant: so *bohina*, from 21 *bohy*, an inflated and puffed up aspect; Arabic, *nafah'a*, to inflate, be inflamed, to swell.

Efate 8, *kat*, a bite, to bite; Fiji, *kata*, to bite; Rarotongan, *kati*, to bite, (doubled) *katikati*, to bite; Malay, *gigit*; Malagasy, *hahitra*, *kaikitra*; Aramaic, *někat*, to bite.

Efate 18, *ēlo*, dialect 10 *āl*, the sun, *āl*, *āli*, day (from morning to evening); Malay, *hari*, *ari*; Malagasy, *andro*, the day, the day-time; Maori-Tahiti *ra*, the sun, a day, daylight; Efate, *meta ni al*; Malay, *mataari*; Malagasy, *masoandro*, the sun (eye of day, eye or fount of light); Aramaic, *něhar*, to shine, *nahir* light, *něhor*, *něhir*; Hebrew, *něharah*, light; Arabic, *nahār* (*nahāro*, *nahāri* *nahāra*) day (from morning to evening).

TRILITERALS WITH THE THREE RADICALS STRONG.

Efate 8, *amat*, *samit*, 15 *sumat*, to beat, whip, chasten, hastening, being quick; Fiji 21, *samuta*, to beat; Malay 8, *chamati*, *chamiti*, a whip, or scourge; Hebrew, *s'amat*, *s'amat'*, to smite, thrust; Arabic, *samat'a*, to strike, to thrust, to urge on a beast violently; *sumat'*, hastening, being quick.

Efate 21, *kamut*, to nip, take with the hand, sieze, grasp firmly; Fiji, *gamuta*; Hebrew, *k'amat'* to take with the hand, *k'amat'* to hold fast with the hand, to sieze firmly.

Efate 11, *bilisi*, dialect 14 *bolisi*, to spread out; Malagasy *velatra*; Samoan 14, *folas* (in *folasia*); Arabic *faras'a*, to spread out.

Efate 23, *fulusi*, to turn; Samoan *fulis* (in *fulusia*); Tongan *fulihi*; Maori *huri*, to turn, turn over; Tahiti *huri*, to roll; Hebrew *falas'*, to roll, revolve (turn).

Efate 12, *seiver* (*seivar*), to walk, proceed, journey, 15 *suwara*,

8 *sur*, 6 *surata* ; Samoan 7, *savali*, to walk, proceed, *savalivali* (Pe'al'al* form) to walk about ; Maori *haere*, *haereere* ; Hawaiian *haele*, *hele* ; Moriori *here* ; Arabic *safara*, to journey, go, proceed, 7 *safar*, 12 *sifar*, 6 *sufrat*.

These examples sufficiently shew that the above Oceanic word first given, *lave*, *lapit*, *lifa*, *lipat*, *love*, *lovetha*, is not exceptional, but only one out of the mass and of a piece with the rest, and this conclusively establishes that the Oceanic primitive or mother tongue had like each of its sister dialects, Arabic, Assyrian, &c., its share of the common stock of purely and exclusively Semitic triliteral words (nouns and verbs) with the purely Semitic common method of word-formation or inflexion by internal vowel-change and external additions.



PHALLIC EMBLEM FROM ATIU ISLAND.

BY LIEUT.-COL. W. E. GUDGEON, C.M.G.

THE accompanying pictures represent a very curious Phallic symbol, which appears to me to be peculiar to the people of Atiu, one of the Cook Group of Islands, inhabited by the same people as Rarotonga and other islands of the group. The original is made of *tamanu* wood, and is so old that the texture and polish is that of agate, though the grain of the wood can still distinctly be seen.

The name given to this interesting relic of the past is *Rei*, and that name will, I think, raise the question as to whether the New Zealand ornaments known by the same name were not also originally emblems of the same nature.

The *Rei* of Atiu was worn only by the *toa*, or braves, of the tribe, and conferred upon the wearer certain rights over any woman he might meet, so long as he wore the symbol round his waist.

There is in the Maori, or Polynesian, mind a close connection between procreative ability and great courage, and hence the word *toa* would comprehend both phases of man. It is this that makes the Phallic cult of the Maori so interesting. The peculiar state of the virile organ of a warrior when engaged in mortal combat is a matter well recognised in Maori superstitions.

In Rarotonga the people have no record of the *Rei*, and this is very singular, because there must have been frequent communication between the people of both islands. The Atiu people, according to tradition, came from Manuka (Manu'a, Samoa) and the Rarotongan from Whiro (an ancestor)—practically from the same part and same people.



STONE AS SEEN FROM ABOVE



SIDE VIEW OF STONE

As for the *Rei* of New Zealand, I fancy it is of Phallic origin, and on this point I have hopes that some of our members will be able to discuss the question.

[As bearing on the same subject, we copy from the Report of the Director of the Pauahi Bishop Museum of Honolulu for 1908 a paper by our fellow member, Mr. J. L. Young, on Phallic stones found in Easter Islands.]

"These objects are generally of a more or less disc-like shape, weighing four or five pounds each; are composed of hard close-grained stone, and are covered on both sides with rudely carved conventionalized representations of the female vulva. They are called by the natives of Rapanui *Maea momoa* (*maea*=stone; *momoa*=descendants, family); also called *Maea hika* (*hika*=clitoris). (cf. Maori=*momoa*=offspring; and *hika* to rub: to make fire by rubbing.) One of these stones is shown in Fig. 4, Plate LI, between pp. 584 and 585 of Smithsonian Report, U.S. National Museum, 1889; and on page 587, *Ibid*, are some remarks concerning it. But a curious error was made by the officers of the U. S. S. Mohican, for both references on page 587 under the head of "Fish God" (*Mea ika*) and "Fowl God" (*Mea moa*) apply to the same stone, the *Maea momoa*. The remarks are substantially correct: the stones were more prized than any other object, it being claimed that they had been brought by Hoatumetua, the pioneer chief, from the, as yet, unidentified "Maraetoeahau." It is also true that the stones were—but of late years only—placed under domestic fowls with the idea that the fertility of the eggs was thus promoted. It is stated by the few old men who profess to remember the ancient traditions, that since the kidnapping of the learned men by the Peruvian slavers in 1864, the younger generation have lost their respect for the sacred stones, and only in a vague manner felt that they were in some way connected with the reproduction of life: hence their use under the fowls. Doubtless also the influence of the missionaries was against the preservation of the ancient rites.

It is said by some of the old men, who until lately resided in Tahiti, that these stones were used in the ceremony of "*Hakatoro repe*" *Hakatoro*=to cause to stretch, to elongate: *Repe*=clitoris); also called by one old man *Hakatoro Matakaho* (*matakaho*=clitoris). This rite was practiced on girls shortly before they arrived at puberty. A similar rite was in use at the Marquesas Islands in former years. (It is worthy of remark that at Ponape (Carolines) the *labia minora* were stretched until they were more projecting than the *labia majora*). No detailed account of the ceremony could be obtained, except that the operator, who was always an old man or *tohunga*

(lit., priest or wise man) pinched the clitoris with finger and thumb, or between pieces of reed or bamboo, so as to make the end swell. Having thus enlarged the end of the organ so that a string could be fastened to it, he proceeded to put a noose of fine twine over the swelled end with a slip-knot, and fastened a small stone as a weight to the twine, which gradually elongated the clitoris until it was, in course of time, two to three inches long. Care had to be taken, said the narrators, to relax the noose occasionally, lest the end of the organ should drop off; in which case no one would take the girl to wife as she would be *kopiri* (lit., adhering together) also conveying the idea of deformity or being misshapen.

The part played by the *Maea momoa* in the ceremony is obscure: the narrators declared, however, that it was a necessary adjunct to the function, and that without its presence the rite could not be performed. It was *taonga tohunga*=the valued implement or amulet of the priest. It was also stated that each clan or *manga*=division or family, of a tribe had a separate stone, called by the name of the ancestress; as the carved staves were, but identification of the stones as belonging to any one clan could not be obtained. Very few of the old men are left, and most are quite unreliable.

It may be remarked that the writer knows of only five original *Maea momoa* (there are imitations, made some years ago): of these, one is in the U. S. National Museum, one in Santiago de Chile, and three in the possession of the writer—one of which is at present in the Bishop Museum. Of the two others, now in Auckland, one is somewhat similar in shape to that in the Bishop Museum; the other is a rectangular bar of hard stone, 20 in. in length by 4 in. square, all of one side being covered with the figure of the pudendum.

It is said that rite described was ordained by Tane Harai, the father of Hoatumetua, who, before his son left the land of Maraetoeahau, said "Forget not the practice of Hakatoro, for by that shall it be known whose sons ye are."

All the foregoing has been obtained from time to time during the past eighteen years from natives of Rapanui. The writer obtained the first stone in 1885, and the two others in 1887."



MAORI MEDICAL LORE.

NOTES ON SICKNESS AND DISEASE AMONG THE MAORI
PEOPLE OF NEW ZEALAND, AND THEIR TREATMENT OF THE
SICK ; TOGETHER WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF VARIOUS
BELIEFS, SUPERSTITIONS AND RITES PERTAINING
TO SICKNESS, AND THE TREATMENT
THEREOF, AS COLLECTED FROM
THE TUHOE TRIBE.

BY ELSDON BEST, OF TUHOE LAND.

PART I.

IN the compilation of an article on any subject connected with a primitive people, it is invariably found to be most difficult to confine oneself to the immediate subject under discussion. For instance, to draw up a monograph on the subject of Maori religion would mean the following up of so many by-ways that the complete article would practically be a full account of Maori life and thought.

Hence it is, that, in describing the native treatment of the sick, and also the Maori idea of the cause of disease, illness, &c., it becomes necessary to wander from the proper bounds of our subject, and enter the realms of magic, mythology and religion.

In this wise : The religion (or superstition, call it what you will) of the Maori entered so largely into his life, that it was scarcely possible for him to perform any act, certainly no important one, without, in some manner, impinging upon that religion. Also religion and magic, sorcery, thaumaturgy, are practically equal terms in a description of Maori beliefs.

Illness, among the Maori, was so commonly attributed to supernatural powers or beings, either acting as direct punishers of some violation of *tapu*, or as agents for some malignant warlock, that it is but to be expected that they should endeavour to cure such ailments by means of utilising the supposed supernatural powers of their priesthood.

It is therefore deemed advisable to divide this paper into two parts, the first part being devoted to a description of ailments as caused and cured by the above-mentioned powers, according to Maori belief, and the second to some account of such ailments as were placed under a treatment more in accordance with our own views, that is to say, such as are said to have been cured by various simple remedies, as used or administered by the Maori.

In regard to the matter collected from the Tuhoe tribe of natives, the latter division of the paper will be somewhat brief, inasmuch as most ailments were treated by the priests as being caused by infringement of the laws of *tapu*, and hence could only be cured by means of charms, combined with the performance of certain singular rites. Also, such as were believed to have been caused by the arts of the wizard were treated in a similar manner.

The Maori divided causes of death into four classes :—

1. *Mate atua* : Caused by the gods.
2. *Mate taua* : By war.
3. *Mate tara whare*, or *mate aitu* : Natural death.
4. Accidents and suicide.

Class three is sometimes termed *hemo o aitu* and *mate koeo*. The word *aitu* in Samoan means a spirit, a god, and *aiku* in Hawaiian signifies to transgress the laws of *tapu*, an offence ever punished by the gods, according to Maori ideas. Now, it appears clear to me that the above meanings of the term *aitu* are older than that of "sickness," given in Maori (N.Z.) dictionaries, and that they support the following statement, viz., that death was looked upon by the old-time Maori as something out of the proper course of nature, and hence the extravagant mode of mourning which obtained among them. The wailing and weeping on such occasions is, to the Maori mind, the only way of obtaining revenge for, or equalising, the stroke of misfortune. I have heard a native make this statement when delivering a funeral speech.* Death did not enter into the original scheme of the universe, according to Maori mythology. It was the female element that was the cause of the introduction of death into the ancient world. The female organ which brings man forth to life is also credited with his destruction. It is the *whare o aitu*,

* "By tears and lamentations alone may (a natural) death be avenged."

the source of misfortune and death, two terms which are ever applied to the female nature in Maori mythology. And yet the male organ represents life, it is the salvation of man, by its help the dread shafts of the wizard are warded off, and man retains life.

The term *mate koeo* is applied to any sickness in which a person wastes away, but it is sometimes used in a more general manner, as given above. The expression *hau koeoeo* appears to apply to a slight indisposition, as sometimes felt by a person on rising in the morning.

"The *mate koeo* (natural death) or *mate tara whare* originated in the time of Tane. Tane said to his parent Rangi (the Sky Parent), on the day that he forced him apart from Papa (the Earth Mother): 'Where is the *uha* (female, or female organ)?' And Rangi said: 'The *whare o aitua* yawns below, the abode of life is above.' Even so we see the *whare o aitua*, the passage by which man enters the world to be assailed by misfortune, by disease, by death, it is seen in woman."

Again, an aged wise man speaks: "That which destroys man is the *māna* (power, prestige, supernatural power) of the female organ. It turns upon man and destroys him."

The Maori warrior of old preferred death on the battle field to any other way of leaving this world. This is not to be wondered at when one reflects on the way in which the old and the sick were, and are, neglected by the Maori.

CAUSES OF ILLNESS.

In regard to the first portion of our paper, the causes of illness, as believed in by the Maori, may be classed under two headings:—
1. Violation of *tapu*. 2. *Makutu* or witchcraft.

The violation of *tapu* includes any interference with *tapu* objects, persons or places. For instance, when a house has become *tapu* for some reason, and is deserted, it must not afterwards be entered or burned or interfered with in any way. Only a priest, or those under *tapu* for conveying a body, or exhumed bones, may trespass on a burial place, or caves where bones of the dead are placed. Should any one else so trespass, then those bones of the dead will turn upon the intruder and slay him, or afflict him grievously. That is to say, the gods will punish that person.

The bed and pillow of a *tapu* person are likewise endowed with that dread quality, and should any careless or impudent person presume to seat himself on such, or eat food there, he will be seriously afflicted ere long. These things cannot be done with

impunity. The gods will mark him down. This does not, of course, apply to the sleeping places of ordinary persons who are not highly charged with *tapu*.

To trespass on a *tuahu*, or sacred place where rites are performed, or any place where a sacred fire has been kindled, even though it were long years ago, will also bring down the anger of the gods. At no great distance from Camp Heipipi, at Rua-tahuna, is an old settlement named Kiha, which has been deserted for nearly forty years. A few weeks ago, two native women in camp were discussing the probability of obtaining some flax from that place. An old woman said, "Be careful how you approach that place. Do not go straight up through the clearing, but keep round the edge of the bush until you get opposite the flax, and then strike straight across." "And why should we not go straight up?" enquired one. "*He ahi kai kona* (there is a fire there)," replied the aged one. No more was said; the women understood at once that, in past generations, a fire had been kindled at that spot in order to perform some religious rite. They would carefully avoid the place.

Another frequent cause of illness is the *kai ra mua*, a term applied to the act of eating food which has been set aside for the gods, or food prepared for a *tapu* person. It is also applied to the infringement of a *rahui*.* There are many other acts of a similar nature, the performance of which will cause a person to be seriously afflicted by the gods.

Puhi-kai-naonao and Kai-uaua are two *atua* (demons) whose duty and delight it is to punish erring mortals who have been guilty of the black sin of *kai ra mua*. The effect on a person, when afflicted by these dread powers, is that they waste away until nothing but skin and bone is left of them. There is no cure for this trouble. That person will not survive. When death comes the body is burned in order to prevent other persons being affected by the same affliction.

In the above cases the terms *kai-uaua*, &c., are also applied to the complaint itself. It would appear that these *atua* are really the personified forms of the disease. The *kai-uaua* is said to have originally appeared from the south of New Zealand. A disease or epidemic is termed *atua* by the natives. But we must bear in mind that the word means "demon," and never had the meaning of beneficent spirit or supreme god. To say that the Maori word *atua* = God is simply ridiculous. Speaking of the famous epidemic known as the *rehwarewha*, which decimated Maori-land about a century ago, an old native said, "It was that *atua* that destroyed the Maori people and so reduced their numbers."

* See Journal of Polynesian Society, Vol. 13, p. 84.

Another method of slaying persons who have been guilty of *kai-ra-mua*, adopted by the gods, is to destroy them by means of a lightning stroke. This is brought about by Tupai (one of the personified forms of thunder or thunder storms), who thus punishes those who have disregarded some law of *tapu*. The form of thunder represented by Tupai is accompanied by little or no rain.

Yet another frequent cause of illness is found in the malignant powers possessed by the spirit of a still-born infant, which caco-dæmon is known as an *atua-kahu*.

As to illness caused by magic arts exercised by persons, it is really the *atua* of the wizard which gives power to the charm or spell. The causes of such dread powers being directed against human life are most numerous. Theft was often so punished, and enemies were removed in a like manner. Quarrels often ended in an appeal to the arts of the magician. In order to discover the person who may happen to be bewitching a patient, the priest has recourse to the *takutaku* rite, to be hereinafter described. A rite is then performed, and a *karakia* (charm, spell, invocation, incantation) repeated, in order to destroy the wizard who has caused the illness of the patient. There are also other rites and charms, or invocations, which are employed in order to restore a sick person to health, as we shall see anon.

The use of such charms in sickness prevailed among the Greeks in Homer's time—which leads one to ponder over the statement made by Mr. W. Boscawen in a series of lectures recently delivered by him at the British Museum, on "The Nature and Character of Oriental Magic," viz., that medicine sprang from magic. We have among ourselves remnants of the old faith and practices in "faith healing," and alleged miracles which are said to take place through the agency of a bone, or what not, belonging to some mediæval individual who, having a strong objection to pick, pike and soap, forthwith became a saint. These gentry are still among us, albeit we now style them by a somewhat different term.

HEALTH OF THE MAORI IN ANCIENT TIMES.

There can be no doubt that the Maori of old was troubled by very few diseases. In regard to their vigour, physique and general health, it was doubtless a case of the survival of the fittest. Take, for example, the tribes of Tuhoe-land. These people were denizens of a high-lying forest country, where the winter season is remarkable for rain and cold. They had but little clothing, the only workable fibre they possessed being that of the *toi* or mountain palm. Hence their clothing was of the scantiest nature. Children went entirely

naked. Yet for centuries these people preserved their health, vigour and strength among such inhospitable surroundings, indeed were ever noted for their robust frame, and fierce nature. It was only when they acquired comfortable European clothing, and gave up their old-time savagery, that they deteriorated in health, vigour and numbers.

In the days of old, before diseases were introduced by Europeans, the Maori is said to have almost invariably died of old age, *i.e.*, if he escaped the perils of war, witchcraft and accidents. Man seldom died of disease, so say the old Maori of the present time. But when the European arrived upon the scene, the Maori began to deteriorate, physically, numerically and also morally, Christianity notwithstanding.

My worthy old tutor, Hamiora Pio, of the Children of Awa, who was born in 1823 and died in 1902, offered one of the most pathetic examples I have seen of the struggles and doubts which assail the mind of primitive man, when brought into contact with a superior culture stage. Born in the days of the *mana Maori*, saturated with superstition, raised in the beliefs of his people, he was led away by the new religion when the missionaries came. But when old age came on, and he saw the deterioration of his people, and the decrease in their numbers so accentuated, then Pio of Awa returned to the faith of his fathers, and gave me his views on the subjects of the health of the old-time Maori, its cause and decadence, as also how to recover it.

According to Maori belief, there were two most important things by means of which physical health and general well-being were retained. The first of these was the *mauri*, and the second *tapu*. To maintain inviolate the *mauri*, tribal, family or individual, to refrain from transgressing the laws of *tapu*, and to retain his prestige and powers, natural and supernatural, was to command health, physical and mental.

The tribal *mauri* is a sort of sacred talisman that holds and protects the health of the tribe. The *mauri* of the pre-Matātua tribes was located at Whakatāne. It is termed the *pouahu* or the *makaka* by the descendants of the ancient inhabitants of the Bay of Plenty. This was the supreme source of the welfare of the old-time people of the district, and through its power the sick were restored to health, or the cause of their death ascertained, and impending danger warded off from the living. The *mauri* of the later migration of Maoris from Hawaiki is known as the *manuka* at Whakatāne, a tree which is said to have grown from a branch brought from the fatherland. In the case of a sick person this *mauri* was appealed to by invocations repeated by the priest, of which more anon. The *mauri ora* at Whakatāne was the salvation of man, says my aged

informant; it was life and health itself, it represented the vitality, and spiritual well-being, of the people. The *manuka* at Whakatane was the essence and semblance, or personality, of health, of life, of spiritual prestige.*

There was also a custom of instituting a *mauri* to represent the health and well-being of individuals, or of a family group, the latter being the real unit of Maori social life. In these cases some material token was placed at the *tuahu*, or sacred place, of the village, and this token, or talisman, was imbued with the semblance of the health, vitality, &c., of the person or persons, and also that of the tribal lands. By means of this singular rite, the welfare of man and lands was protected, and neither would then be in danger of suffering from the arts of the wizard. For bear in mind that we are now speaking of sickness and troubles of divers kinds as being caused by magic arts.

The vitality, welfare, productiveness, of forests, streams, and the ocean, together with the denizens thereof, were also protected in like manner. There were innumerable invocations used, and rites performed, in order to preserve the physical, intellectual and spiritual vitality of man. These ceremonies began early in the life of the individual, when the *tua* and *tohi* rites were performed over the new-born child, and the *kawa ora* and other invocations were repeated by the priest. These matters will be dealt with in detail in a paper on the rites, customs, &c., pertaining to birth, which I hope to be able to forward next year.

We have seen that, according to Maori ideas, physical health is so closely related to their religious beliefs, that it is quite impossible for the Maori mind to sever the supposed connection between them, and herein lies a fine field for research by someone interested in psychical studies. The mentality of the Maori is of an intensely mystical nature: he deals largely in occult mysticism, and in hypotheses of a metaphysical nature. We hear of many singular theories anent Maori beliefs and Maori thought, but the truth is that we do not understand either, and, what is more, we never shall. We shall never know the inwardness of the native mind. For that would mean retracing our steps for many centuries, back into the dim past, far back to the time when we also possessed the mind of primitive man. And the gates have long closed on that hidden road.

And what is the cause of the decadence of the Maori? Why has he decreased in numbers in each decade since the European peoples here arrived? Where is the hardy and robust savage of yore,

* For a description of the *mauri*, see Journal of Polynesian Society, Vol. 10, p. 2.

and why do they perish by the wayside, of trivial complaints that an European would shake off in a few days? Why did I see nearly forty little children perish of influenza in one season in this district of Tuhoe-land, when we *pakeha* recovered from the same complaint in a few days? The Mejicano shall answer for us. *Quien sabe*—who knows!

Theories we have galore, in change of food, of dress, of places of residence, &c., but we have never studied the native mind nor the native opinion. We will now enquire into it and learn their view of the matter. I am much inclined to place some belief in the following remarks, albeit they will probably be ridiculed by many. For the singular beliefs, modes of thought and mentality of the Maori, are ever in evidence around me. Cut off from intercourse with Europeans, I have, for years, been patiently studying the Maori people, more especially their spiritual beliefs and the quaint working of their primitive minds.

An old native said to me: "Friend! It seems to me that the *ora* (health, vigour, vitality) of the white men, and their exemption from disease, and sickness, and premature death, is caused by their never forgetting the *koutu mimi* at night time; it is ever in the room to protect them. For that urine represents the *tawhito*,* and will avert any evil consequences of any act of witchcraft levelled against them. For that organ was the life and salvation of my ancestors, and saved them from trouble and death."

Now this remark not only affords a good illustration of the strange channels in which the thoughts of the Maori run, but is also an interesting relic of an ancient system of phallic worship, which we will, in the future, endeavour to follow up. How are we to grasp the workings of the Maori mind, to understand them, to explain their modes of thought, when the above is a sample of their reasoning. Never more shall we return to that mental state, that plane of mental evolution, in which alone these things are clear.

When the *kumara*, or sweet potatoe, was first obtained by the old-time people of Whakatane, they were advised by the islanders from whom they obtained it, to slay one *Taukata*, and sprinkle, or besmear, his blood on the door frame of the storehouse in which the *kumara* was placed. This rite was for the purpose of preventing the *mauri*, or life principle of the tuber, from returning to *Hawaiki*. Should it do so, then it would be useless attempting to cultivate, or propagate, the seed tubers: they would not bear, the life principle having departed.

**Tawhito* = *membrum virile*, the mystical name for that organ.

Now, the natives here say that, in like manner, the *ora* (life, vitality, health) has returned to Hawaiki, on account of the *mauri* or *kawa ora* having become *noa* or polluted. This sacred life principle of man has become polluted through contact with Europeans, *i.e.*, the *tapu* of the Maori race is destroyed. When Christianity was embraced by the natives, they proceeded to *whakanoa*, or make themselves common, or free from *tapu*, that they might be able to accept the new religion. For the *tapu* was of the Maori gods, and hence must be got rid of, or reduced, so to speak, before the new God was accepted. This was done, in most cases, by washing the head with water heated in a vessel in which food had been cooked. Shade of Toi! It was enough to cause the whole horde of gods in the Maori pantheon to turn on the race and destroy it at a blow. The most sacred part of sacred man to be brought into contact with cooked food!

Also, at the same period, the life principle of the forests was destroyed by cooked food being taken into the bush. Hence birds decreased in numbers so rapidly as to form but an indifferent food supply. "*Ka tamaoatia nga mauri o te kainga, o te ngaherehere; ara, kua haere te kai maoa ki roto ki te ngaherehere, kua kore e mana.*" Hence birds are extremely scarce now. The forest is no longer productive, because its life principle is polluted.

As old Pio remarked to me, "The *mauri* of the Maori has become polluted, that is what is destroying the Maori people. It may be that this generation, born among the white men, may survive, and be as healthy and virile and industrious. But I fear that the Maori has forsaken his own well-being (*ora* and *māna*), in pursuing that of the white men. And I ask, 'How may we survive?' (*me aha ra tatou e ora ai*). Let us return to the beliefs of the Maori, and the rites of old. I am resolved to follow the practices of my forefathers, which have been followed for many generations. I say to you that the Maori is in fault: he has deserted his ancestral rites, customs and beliefs, and now they have turned upon him and are destroying him.* Now, listen! There are several mountains in New Zealand which possess supernatural powers, such as Putauaki, and Te Atua-rere-tahi, and Tongariro. In the year of the Tarawera eruption I saw clouds arise across Putauaki (Mt. Edgecumbe) and ascend to the skies. That is a sign of a lacerated land. In 1898 I saw clouds spread over the mountain

* Everything sacred, human bones, a *tapu* house or ground, &c., all retaliate if neglected or despised or superseded, according to the Maori. This probably springs from his own revengeful disposition. The Maori gods were placated, not worshipped.

like unto a spread mat. I say that this was a sign for the Maori, who have deserted their ancient customs and the ancient teachings. They have turned to pursue the money of the white man, and other evils, debt, beer and rum. A priest came to me; he said, 'Pio! Return to the true religion.' I replied, 'Not so! Your god is money. I will abide by the beliefs of my ancestors.'

So much for Pio of Awa and his convictions. A true Maori to the last, he died as he had lived, a pagan. May his lines be cast in pleasant places when he descends from the soul's last resting place at *Te Taumata i Haumu*. And one of his last acts was to write to me, urging me to rely on the phallus as a means of preserving life and health. "*Haere ra, E koro E! Haere ki Paerau! Mou te tai ata, moku te pai po!*"

When someone writes a treatise on the word *mānā*, it will be seen that *mana* and *ora* are almost synonymous terms, as applied to the old-time Maori. At present the thinking Maori, of these parts at least, is bewildered. He stands at the meeting place of the waters, and has not decided whether to trust himself to the new stream, or try to follow still the dark waters which have brought him from the Hidden Land of Tane. He fails to grasp the fact that the streams have united and will separate no more, and that, come weal or woe, he must drift on with the tide.

In this wise: I have an old friend here who is trying to decide which is the right path to take, to secure life and prosperity for his people, ere he lifts the world-old trail that leads to Hades. Many of the old fellow's children and grandchildren have preceded him on that journey, and his great desire is to see the survivors live long in the land. I have known him to pray to the God of the white man to preserve his offspring, and to take his worn-out life in place of theirs, and also to perform the ancient *tohi* rite over his sons, that they may retain life and health. He is, in his anxiety, trying to tread on both paths at once, to drift on parted waters.

And ever is it firmly believed that it is on account of the white man being *tapu*-less that he thrives so well. He has no *kawa ora* to be polluted, his *tuatanga* is a thing to jeer at.

When an epidemic desolated the Rua-tahuna valley in 1897, I was informed that the cause of the visitation was the fact that the *tapu* had been taken off the sacred house, *Te Whai-a-te-motu*, at *Mātātua*, in order that visitors might be entertained therein. The gods had punished this act of pollution by sending the epidemic among the people. But the Maori is a Christian—the missionaries tell us so. He is just so much a Christian as any other primitive people on whom the outward forms of that faith have been forced.

One only remark, as emanating from an European, can I bear in mind, as being near the truth in locating a cause for the decadence of the Maori. That remark may be explained as "the displacement of species." That is nearer the mark—the evolution of the human race, the survival of the fittest, call it what you will. The Maori, as the Maori, is passing, although the blood will remain with us.

It is undoubtedly a fact that, so soon as Europeans arrived in New Zealand, the native tribes were afflicted by very serious epidemics, which swept off great numbers of the people. They perished by thousands, many villages being almost depopulated, and many settlements were deserted on account of the scourge. Natives of several parts of the North Island have told me that, when the famous *rewharewha* was ravaging the land, the dead were often so numerous that they were left in the houses unburied, while the survivors fled in terror to seek a new home elsewhere. A village known as Te Neinei, near my present camp, was so deserted, the survivors settling at Pa-puweru. Some visitors, coming to Te Neinei, found the dead lying in the huts, and partially consumed by rats. Epidemics of this nature are here termed *papa reti*, the name of a sort of toboggan formerly used here. The dying of many people was compared with the swift motion of the toboggan down the slide. Or, as an old man explained it to me, "Tuhoe flowed like water down to Hades." Pio says that it was on the second coming of Captain Cook that these epidemics commenced their ravages, and that they spread all over the island, numbers dying in every village. So many died that, for the first time, the dead were all buried near the village. As Christianity advanced, so the new diseases spread.

The natives still place great faith in their so-called *tohunga*, and the modern *tohunga* is a kind of quack doctor, a hybrid imposition, a fraud, a despicable fellow, inferior in every way to his savage ancestors, who were, at least, more honest in their professions.

A great distrust of European doctors is manifest in this district. It is probable that this is not due to any disbelief in the medical knowledge of the said profession, but that the natives have an instinctive fear that a doctor will interfere with their state of *tapu*, that the life principle will be endangered by the methods of the European being employed. A middle-aged woman of this district was taken seriously ill at Rotorua, and it was proposed that she be sent to the hospital. Her people strongly objected, urging her to adhere to native customs, saying that they would rather see her die than be operated upon by an European. However, she was taken to the hospital by Europeans, was operated upon, and recovered. When she returned here, I heard an old woman ask her, "In what

state are you now?"* The reply was, "O! Every cooking vessel of the white man has been passed over me."† Her *tapu* has gone, and she is clinging with great earnestness to European ways and customs, as a means of protecting her vitality. But this is a rare case.

There is another singular idea possessed of the native mind. A native is ill, and you ask why he is not taken to the doctor. The reply will very likely be, "Oh! It is a native complaint; the doctors could not cure it," although it be something as common as a stomach ache.

In the case of the old woman mentioned above, who asked her friend in what state she was: when the old lady saw that the invalid had quite recovered, after having violated the most sacred principle of the Hauhau religion, she said, "Oh! And my son (who had died a few months previously) might have been saved, had we taken him to the white man's doctor." And so the struggle goes on.

Now, once for all, bear in mind that the vast majority of complaints which assailed the old-time Maori were set down as being caused by the gods, or demons, in whom they so firmly believed. Either as punishment for some offence against the laws of *tapu*, and hence against the gods, or as the result of magic arts directed against them by some person; but always the gods, or evil spirits, are behind these manifestations of supernatural and diabolic power.

Mate kikokiko is a term applied to any complaints supposed to have been caused by *kikokiko*, or evil spirits, either spirits of the dead, or those of still-born children, both of which are powers of evil to the Maori mind. When a person is afflicted by one of these evil spirits, he hies him to the priest, who, by means of the *hirihiri* rite, finds out what evil being is afflicting his patient, and proceeds to exercise the same. If the person recovers, he will probably become the *kauwaka* or medium of that evil spirit, and enjoy the power of being able to afflict his enemies by means of the supernatural powers of the spirit.

There were few complaints, apart from skin diseases, which were not supposed to be within the province of the priest or medicine man, or shaman, whichever you may please to term him. Even wounds, burns, choking, all these came within the ken of the priest, each had their special charms for curing purposes.

* *i.e.*, Have you deserted our *ringa tu* religion; are you *noa*?

† Her body had been washed with water heated in a kitchen.

When a person, in former times, fancied himself falling ill, his first thought would be that the gods were afflicting him, and he would consult the *tohunga*, or priest, in order to get him to avert the trouble. The priest would take him to the water-side, a pond, pool or stream near the village, at which many rites were performed, and which was avoided by the people at other times, it being sacred (*tapu*). These rites were always performed early in the morning, or after sundown in the evening. The priest would divest himself of his clothing, save a girdle round his waist, and the patient had to disrobe and appear in a similar manner. Bearing a small branch of the *karamuramu* shrub in his hand, the priest would enter the water, and, dipping the leafy end of his wand in the water, sprinkle the water thereupon over his patient, repeating at the same time a *karakia* (invocation, charm, incantation, spell) to avert the evil influence at work on him. Such a charm is termed a *ripa* or *parepare*, both of which terms mean to avert, or ward off. We give a specimen below:—

“ Whakataha ra koe
 E te anewa o te rangi
 E tu nei
 He tupua, he tawhito to tohu
 To makutu e kite mai nei koe
 E homai nei koe kei taku ure
 Na te tapu ihi, na te tapu mana
 Takato ki raro ki to kauwhau ariki.”

In the numerous cases when ailments were (supposed to have been) caused by *hara*, i.e., infringement of the rules, or laws, of *tapu*, the aim of the priest was to discover what “sin” (*hara*) had been committed by his patient; after that his course of action was clear to him. For it would often be that the patient himself would be ignorant of the cause of his illness, that is to say, ignorant of having disregarded any of the numerous laws of the Maori system of *tapu*. In order to ascertain the cause of the illness of the patient, the priest would tell him to proceed with him to the *vai tapu*, or sacred water, described above. Thither they would proceed, after sunset. Should the sick person be feeble, one or two persons would be allowed to assist him to the water-side. All the rest of the inhabitants of the village would remain carefully within the houses, lest their *vairua* or spirits wander forth to the water-side, and there be destroyed by the magic spells of the priest, as he performed the rites over the sick person. And if a person's *vairua* was slain, of course the body, its physical basis, must also perish.

Having his man stripped at the water edge, the priest, clad in scant girdle of green branchlets, enters the water, and with his wand sprinkles water over the sick man's body, and repeats an invocation termed a *hirihiri*, for the purpose of finding out what is afflicting his patient. The following is an illustration of the *hirihiri* :—

“Kotahi koe ki konei
 Kotahi ki a Te Reretatautau.
 Kotahi koe ki konei
 Kotahi ki nga ariki.
 Kotahi koe ki konei
 Kotahi ki nga mātāmua.
 Kotahi koe ki konei
 Kotahi ki nga wananga.
 Kotahi koe ki konei
 Kotahi ki nga tapu.
 Kotahi koe ki konei
 Kotahi ki a Te Hārāki.”

The above illustration is a special one. When the reciter repeated the name of Te Haraki, a noted warlock of Ngati-Awa tribe, the patient gasped, his limbs stiffened, his eyes turned, his last breath was expelled like unto a long sigh (*te puhanga ake o te manawa*)—he was dead. Then it was known that the wizard Te Haraki had caused his death. Had he expired when the name of Te Reretatautau (another wizard) was mentioned, then his death would have been set down to that magician. Had he died when the word *tapu* or *mātāmua*, &c., was being repeated, then it would be clear that some transgression of *tapu* had caused his death. For instance, had he so far forgotten himself as to eat of food prepared for a *mātāmua*, or first-born member of a high family, a most *tapu* individual, that would have been the cause of his death, and he would have expired when that word was pronounced.

A common form of *hirihiri* in this district is :—

“Kotahi koe ki reira
 Kotahi ki te manuka i Whakatane,” &c.
 “Thou art one there—
 One to the *manuka* at Whakatane, &c.”

For the *manuka* at Whakatane is the great *mauri* or emblem, or talisman, of life and health, among the Matatua tribes. When Kahungunu wandered away to far lands and knew that Tamakutai was trying to bewitch him, he saved himself by repeating :—

“Kotahi au ki konei
 Kotahi ki te manuka i Whakataue.”
 “I am one here,
 One to the *manuka* at Whakatane.”

The *hirihi* *taua* is an invocation and ceremony performed over warriors about to lift the war trail, in order to avert or prevent them being afflicted by nervousness, listlessness, lack of energy, &c.

The following is another form of *hirihi* for the sick :—

“Kotahi koe ki te whare
Kotahi koe ki te kakahu
Kotahi koe ki te moenga
Kotahi koe ki nga whenua,” &c., &c.

“Thou art one to the house,
Thou art one to the garment,
Thou art one the bed,
Thou art one to the lands, &c., &c.”

In these lines occur the words “house, garment, bed, lands.” Should the patient gasp when any of these lines were repeated the cause of sickness would be known. If at the word “bed,” then he has trespassed on the sleeping place of some *tapu* person. If at the word “house,” then a sacred house, or the site thereof, has been desecrated by him. And so on. It appears to be the *mauri* of man that is invoked in order to make known the cause of illness.

When the cause of death has been the crime termed *kai hau*, or wrongful giving away of another's property, then the patient would expire at these words in the *hirihi* :—

“Kotahi koe ki te taonga o (mea)
I whiua ketia e koe te utu.”

“Thou art one to the property of (so and so)
The payment of which you perverted.”

The *hirihi* used in war usually began as follows :—

“Kotahi koe ki te makaka i Whakatane
Kotahi koe ki te pouahu i Whakatane
Kotahi koe ki te manuka i Whakatane.”

“Thou art one to the *makaka* at Whakatane
Thou art one to the *pouahu* at Whakatane
Thou art one to the *manuka* at Whakatane.”

This appeal to the above sacred places and objects, which are *mauri* and the representation of the health, life, vigour, &c., of the people, has the effect of casting off, or abolishing, all undesirable qualities such as fear, listlessness, mental confusion, &c., from the fighting men. The sacred talismans above will guard them, and the said sacred places, &c., are looked upon as the *mana* (prestige, &c.) of the tribe, or the material representation thereof. The above rite is often termed a *ruruku* (a binding together), *i.e.*, of man. He is thus protected from external evil influences.

That class of priest termed *tohunga matatuhi*, or seer, usually performed the *hirihiri* rite, inasmuch as they were supposed to be masters of divination and second sight.

The expressions "*Kotahi koe ki konei, Kotahi ki Whakatane*," &c., really mean—"You are lying here stricken by illness, while the *mauri ora* which can save you is at Whakatane. It will thus be seen that the *hirihiri* rite has two bearings. In the first place it is a species of divination employed to discover the cause of illness, and in the second place it implies a protection of man, his life, vitality, vigour, &c., against influence of a supernatural nature, such as witchcraft, the consequences of disregarding *tapu*, &c.

The *tara-kumukumu* is said to be a species of lizard, which was looked upon as an *atua* or demon, and was said to afflict man in a grievous manner. Persons afflicted by this demon were affected by swelling in the region of the thighs, and were cured by means of the *hirihiri* rite, in which would probably be some special reference to the above demon.

When the priest had performed these rites over a sick person, it was customary to present to him the cloak or garment which had been used to cover the patient when being taken to the sacred water.

You may possibly like to know why man is taken to the water-side, in order to be cured of illness. The reason is this: He is taken to his ancestress, Wai-nui, who makes all such things clear, in regard to the troubles which afflict the Maori people. The cause of his sickness will there be seen, whether it be witchcraft, or a sacred fire, or a house, or a bed, or a burial place, &c. For Wai-nui was of the offspring of Rangi and Papa, the Sky Parent and the Earth Mother, the primal pair, the origin of all things, man and animals, birds, insects, trees, fish, &c. And Wai-nui is the Mother of Waters, the origin and personification of waters, of the ocean, of lakes, of rivers and streams, even as Para-whenua-mea is the personification of floods.

It is, of course, the god of the priest who enables him to ascertain the person or object which is the cause of illness. Sometimes the priest would perform the *hirihiri* at his sacred place, where he kept the symbol of his god, and addressed his invocations to it. And the god would explain the cause of the attack through his human medium (*waka, kawaka* or *kaupapa*), *i.e.*, through the priest.

When the priest has performed his *hirihiri* rite over the sick person, and has found that the cause of illness is witchcraft, he will say, "You have been meddled with. So-and-so has bewitched you. I see him (*i.e.*, his *wairua* or spirit) standing by your side.*

* It is probable that the old Maori priests practised crystallo-mancy.

What shall be done with him?" Should the stricken person reply, "*Patua atu!*" (destroy him), then the priest will, by his magic arts, cause that person's death. Ere long, the news will arrive that he is dead. Follows an example of the spells by which such wizard would be destroyed:—

"Haere i te po uriuri
Haere i te po tangotango
Haere i te po te hoki mai
Haere i te po te oti atu
Muimui te ngaro
Totoro te iro
Mau ka oti atu
Oti atu ki te po."

"Depart by the deep black night (or Hades)
Depart by the uttermost depths of Hades,
Depart by Hades, and return not,
Depart by Hades, and begone for ever.
(May) flies gather (on thy body),
And worms creep :
Begone for ever,
Begone to Hades."

The morning after the patient has been taken to the water-side, the priest performs further rites over him in order to divine the return to health, or death, of the patient, and also to lift the *tapu* from him, and from the functions generally. A sacred *umu*, or steam oven, is prepared by the priest, and among the food placed therein the priest places a certain portion, over which he has recited a charm or spell which comes under the generic term of *hoa*. When he uncovers the oven, should that article of food be found thoroughly cooked it is a sign that the patient will recover, and that, if he has been bewitched, the offending wizard will die. On the other hand, if the item is found to be yet uncooked, that is a sign that the patient will die. The food cooked in the oven is eaten by the sacred first-born female of a family of rank, who is employed as a *ruahine* to remove the *tapu* in this and many other rites. The afflicted person is often told to procure some special food for the above oven.

Here is another mode of divination. The priest is consulted in regard to the illness of some person. In the morning he goes to where some *harakeke*, or native flax, be growing. He takes hold of one of the young leaves and, grasping it firmly, repeats:—

"He kimihanga
He rangahautanga
Ka kimi ki hea?
Ka kimi ki uta
Ka kimi ki te pu

Ka kimi ki te more
 Ka kimi ki te po
 Ka kimi ki te atua
 Kia mana koe."

" 'Tis a searching,
 'Tis a seeking.
 Where shall (I) search?
 Search in land,
 Search the stump (origin),
 Search the young roots,
 Search the night (chaos),
 Search the god;
 May thou be powerful."

He then tugs at the leaf, pulling it out from the sheath or "hand." Should the pulling out cause the parting leaf to make a screeching sound (*e rārā haere ake te waha o te rito o te harakeke*), that is a good omen: the patient will recover. The priest then performs the *takutaku*. He takes the young leaf of flax he has pulled, and places one end thereof upon the body of the patient. This is an *ara atua*, or path by which the *atua* or demon afflicting the person is to pass out of the sick person's body, in response to the spell or invocation of the priest, which is termed a *takutaku*. It expels the *atua* (demon, god, evil spirit) which is the cause of all the trouble, and the patient will probably then recover. Here is a specimen of a *takutaku*:—

" To ara
 Haere i tua, haere i waho
 Haere i te maramatanga
 Haere i nga kapua o te rangi
 Haere ma hihi ora
 Ki te whai ao
 Ki te ao marama
 Ko rou ora.
 Haere i a moana nui
 Haere i a moana roa
 Haere i a moana te takiritia
 Ki te whai ao
 Ki te ao marama
 Ko rou ora."

" Thy way:
 Begone behind, outside,
 Begone in the light,
 Begone to the clouds of heaven,
 Begone by aid of *hihi-ora*
 To the world of being,
 To the world of life
 Ko rou ora,

Begone by the great ocean,
 Begone by the long ocean,
 Begone by the ocean not omened
 To the world of light
Ko rou ora.

This *takutaku*, like the *hirihiri*, was often performed at the water-side, the person being sprinkled with water from the sacred wand of the priest, as before explained. The general meaning of a *takutaku* was given me as follows:—"Here is your path by which to leave. Cease afflicting this person. Return to your origin, to your caretaker. You are an important being. Will you not succour this person."

The demon, when expelled, is supposed to leave the person's body by way of the *ara atua* mentioned above. The plant termed *tutumako* was sometimes used for the purpose, but usually a stalk of the common fern (*rarauihe*) was employed. If, when the *takutaku* is being performed, the *atua* leaves the patient at once, when called upon by the priest to depart, then it is known that it was his, the patient's, own god which was afflicting him. If the god be a stubborn one and difficult to expel, then it is a strange demon, probably sent by some warlock to afflict the person, or it is a punishment sent by the gods on account of some infringement of *tapu*.

Again, the priest discovers the cause of a person's illness; it is a sacred house, or a sacred pillow: the person has occupied one of these places while partaking of food. Hence the god known as Te Hūkitā is afflicting him. He is taken to the water and sprinkled by the priest, who recites the *takutaku* :—

"Ara to ara
 Mehemea he urunga to take
 Ko Te Hukita koe.
 Haere i tua, haere i waho
 Haere i a moana nui
 Haere i a moana roa
 Haere i a moana te takiritia
 Ki te whai ao
 Ki te ao marama.
 Ka uru te ora ki roto
 Ka uru te mate ki waho
 Uru toro hei.
 He urunga koe e patu nei
 Haere!
 Te Hukita koe e patu nei
 Haere ki o take
 Ko rou ora
 Ki te whai ao
 Ki te ao marama."

"Behold thy way,
 If a pillow is the cause,
 Te Hukita (affects) thee
 Begone behind, outside,
 Begone by the great ocean,
 Begone by the wide ocean,
 Begone by the omenless ocean
 To the world of being,
 To the world of light.
 Life and death enters within,
 Sickness enters (departs) outside,
 Enters, spreads.
 If 'tis a pillow that affects thee,
 Be gone!
 'Tis Te Hukita that smites thee,
 Begone to thy source, origin,
Ko rou ora
 To the world of being,
 To the world of light.

In another *takutaku*, repeated over a person who had polluted the garments of a *tapu* individual by bringing cooked food near them, the words "*He kakahu koe e patu nei*" are inserted. And after the words "*toro hei*" comes:—

"Tu-tawake mai te atua i te rangi
 Ka ripiripia
 Ka toetoea
 Ka haparangitia."

"Tu-tawake from the god of the heavens
 Tear (them)
 Split (them)
 Rip open (them)."

In such cases the *tapu* person, whose sleeping place, or what not, has been contaminated, can save the offender from the effects of his act by performing the above rite over him.

As already observed, the spirit of a still-born child, or even of the *paheke*, or menses, is a most malignant demon, according to native ideas. If a person forgets himself and passes cooked food over the sleeping-place of the woman who produced it, the spirit will sorely afflict such person. Or it may assail him for many other reasons, or for no reason at all, save that of the innate malignant nature of such a caco-dæmon. Such spirits or demons are termed *atua kahu*. By means of the *hirihihi* the priest will ascertain that a certain woman is the cause of the trouble. He then questions her, "Is there nothing that you know of?" She will reply, "I had a clot of blood, and threw it into the water." Enough! The

priestly seer goes off to search for the plant or moss termed *keketuwai* to be used as an *ara atua* by which to expel the demon. He places the weed on the troubled one, and recites:—

“Tenei to ara
Haere ki o tupuna
Haere ki o matua
Haere ki o koroua
Haere ki nga mana o o tupuna,” &c.

“This is thy way:
Begone to (or by) thy ancestor,
Begone to (or by) thy parent,
Begone to (or by) thy grandfather,
Begone to the (or by) the powers of the ancestors,” &c.

Water weeds, such as the above, were often used as *ara atua*, by which route the afflicting demon would be forced to depart. The weed or leaf used would then be deposited in the sacred place of the village.

Here is another style of *takutaku*:—

“Hurahia ko te tutu
Hurahia ko nga atua
Ma wai e huaki?
Maku e huaki
Ka matika, ka haere
Tau tika, tau tonu
Te roua atu, kapea mai
Roua ki whiti, roua ki tonga
Hamama tu te waha o nga atua
I titaha te taha o te rangi
E oho nga atua whiu
E oho nga atua ta
E oho i te rawa i pakina ai koe.”

This calls upon the gods or demons afflicting the person to give some sign of their presence when the particular cause of the attack is pronounced. The reciter then goes on to mention various *tapu* objects, as given before, and when the patient sneezes, or yawns, or gasps, the object then being spoken of was the cause of his illness. The priest then proceeds:—

“Haere i te pu
Haere i te more
Haere i te weu
Haere koutou e patu nei
Haere i tua, haere i waho,” &c.

“Begone, by the stem,
Begone, by the roots,
Begone, by the little roots,
Begone, ye who smite,
Begone, behind, begone outside.”

Or, if it is an *atua kahu*, then he inserts:—

“*Atua kahukahu*
Haere i a moana nui,” &c.

“*Kahu*—demon,
Begone by the great ocean,” &c.

The spirit of a *kahukahu* (foetus) will sometimes enter a fish, or a moth, or a pig, according to where the *whakatahe* is thrown (the safest plan is to bury it deeply). If left on the surface of the ground it may be eaten by a pig, or a moth (*purerehua*), or insect or bird may fly over it, and then that pig, or what not, would be entered by the spirit of the *kahu*, and so become a malignant demon, an *atua ngau tangata*, a demon to assail man. If thrown into water and found by a fish, that fish will become an *atua*, a demon possessing grievous powers. In this district a foetus was buried under the perch of a tame *kaka* bird, and the spirit or caco-dæmon of the same entered the bird, and worked much harm to man. And should a person dream that he saw the bird with its feathers ruffled or upstanding (*e whakakenakena ana*), that was a good sign: the sick person would recover. But should the bird be seen (in a dream) to wriggle about (*a kia mohimohi ranei nga huru-huru*), that was a bad omen for the invalid. Affections of the eyes and other ills are said to have been caused by that bird.

Should any person trespass on a sacred place (*tuahu*), or a place where a sacred fire has, at some time, been kindled, or a cave containing the bones of the dead, such are causes of the most serious illness, and it will require all the arts of the priest to save him from death. After the usual sprinkling process by the sacred pool or stream, the priest recites:—

“Heuea ki runga, heuea ki raro,
Heuea ki te po uriuri,
Heuea ki te po tangotango.
Tuhia mai te tuhi e atua nui.
Ana ra e patu nei
Haere, whakataha ra Tutara-Kauika.
Ana ra e patu nei,
Haere i te po uriuri,
Haere i te po tangotango.
Rua koiwi,
Haere ra i te po uriuri,
I te po tangotango,
I te wherikoriko.
Ka kai koe ki to matua e tu nei
Mihia mai te tere nui
O te atua e patu nei.
Tua mai te ora i tua

Koia nga atua e patu nei
 Haere i tua, haere i waho.
 Ko Uru koe e patu nei
 Haere i tua, haere i waho,
 Haere i te maramatanga.
 Atua nui koe
 Haere i tua, haere i waho,
 Haere i te rangi nui e tu nei,
 Haere i te papa e takoto nei.
 Mahihi ora
 Whakaarahia mai te kauae o te mate
 Ara mai te hau o te ora
 Kahu ana te tangata e patu nei
 Haere i tua,
 Haere i te hau o tua, o waho, o te ora
 Koia,
 Koia nga tapu nei
 Koia nga mate nei,
 Koia nga atua nui e patu nei.
 E ara Kahukura i te rangi nei
 Haere nga atua whiu,
 Haere nga atua ta,
 Haere i tua,
 Haere i nga koromatua.
 Mahihi ora
 Ki te whai ao,
 Ki te ao marama
 Ko rou ora."

Priest and patient then returned from the water, and the rite is performed to lift the *tapu*, during which the patient holds in his hand a dead coal taken from the side of the sacred oven.

When a priest has been attending a sick person, and the latter recovers, there is yet another rite to be performed. This was done either in some sacred place near the village, or at the sacred water (*wai tapu* or *wai karakia*) of the village. Here the *whakanoa* rite was performed, and the priest wound up his performance by causing the thunders of heaven to sound. This last is termed *oho rangi* and it was designed to give *mana* (power, prestige, effect) to the various rites and invocations. It is also said that if the thunder rolled at his call, then the sick person would surely recover. But if it did not, that was a bad omen for him. The *whakanoa* rite is a removal of the *tapu* from the patient and priest.

The *oho rangi* rite was performed when the sun was declining. As one of my informants quaintly put it. "When man was in the grasp of death, then tears for his plight were demanded from the heavens, and the wise men of old called on the thunders to sound." This was

performed when the sacred oven was prepared for the lifting of the *tapu*. The *oho rangi* was also performed when bones of the dead were being disinterred.

The priest would obtain a piece of one of the plants which come under the generic term of *pua* or *pucha*, to which he added a piece of dead ember from the fire. Taking the herb and ember, he would pass them round the left thigh of the invalid, from left to right. He would then wave his hand containing those two articles, towards the heavens, the objects themselves being afterwards taken to the *tuahu* or sacred place of the village where, it is said, another invocation was repeated in order to restore health to the invalid. It appears to have been believed that the *ahua* or semblance, or personality, of the disease became, as it were, absorbed in the articles passed round the thigh and that, in the waving of them towards the heavens, the said personality flew off into space. This singular custom was performed on the left side because that is the *taha ruahine*, the female side, and the *noa* (common or *tapu*-less) side of man. The left side of man has great *mana* although it be not *tapu*.

While performing the above, the priest repeated the following :—

“ Ka oho te po
 Ka rongo te po
 Ka rongo te ao
 Ka oho ki tua
 Ka oho ki waho
 Ka oho ki nga koramatua
 Ka tupu, ka rea
 Ka puta ki te whai ao
 Ki te ao marama.”

“ Will start up (the powers of) night,
 Will hear (the powers of) night,
 Will hear (the powers of) day.
 Will start up beyond,
 Will start up outside,
 Will start up to the old and wise men.
 I will grow ; be numerous,
 Come forth to the world of being,
 To the world of light.”

After which he recited the *tuaimu*, as follows :—

“ Te imu kai te ruhi,
 Te imu kai te rongo
 Ka rongo ki uta,
 Ka rongo ki tai,
 Ka rongo ki te po,
 Ka rongo ki te ao,
 Tuku tonu, heke tonu

Te ika ki te po.
 He ika ka ripiripia,
 He ika ka toetoea,
 He ika ka haparangitia."

"The *oven is exhausted,
 The oven is heard,
 Is heard inland,
 Is heard seaward,
 Is heard in the *Po* (night—Hades),
 Is heard in the day (world of light).
 Let go, descends
 The victim to the *Po*,
 A victim that is torn,
 A victim that is sliced,
 A victim that is ripped open."

The various plants, *kohukohu*, &c., known by the generic term of *puha*, were used in many rites generally, I believe, with the idea of *whakanoa* or lifting of the *tapu*.

In White's "Ancient History of the Maori," Vol. 1, p. 162, is an account of a *ruahine* passing a piece of *aruhe* in the manner described above.

For a singular use of the *puha*, see Williams' Maori Dictionary under *whakapaki*.

Another custom in former times was to utilise a piece of *aute* bark as a *waka atua*, an abiding place for a god and material representation of such. This would be brought and placed upon a sick person and an invocation, commencing as follows, repeated, in order to cure the person:—

"Koia nga haku
 Koia ki te rangi
 Koia ki te kapua
 Kia tu mai taku kai roro
 Ko mangungu, ko manono, &c."

(To be continued).

* *Imu* (or *umu*) is an oven, but here used as the ceremony with which the *umu* is so frequently connected.—(ED.)



THE *TOA TAUA* OR WARRIOR.

BY LIEUT.-COL. W. E. GUDGEON, C.M.G.

FOR many generations previous to the arrival of the first European settlers in 1840, the social condition of the Maoris was such, that the very existence of a tribe depended upon the courage and ability of its leading chiefs and warriors. If these men were wanting in tact, political ability, or courage of the highest order, then the tribe stood but a poor chance of coming creditably through the hundred and one dangers that menaced the existence of the Maori in those days of blood and fire. Hence it was that the warriors of great reputation known as *toas*, and whose deeds are recorded in the memory of the Maori people, played a very leading part. So much so, that at one period, their influence was well nigh equal to that of the sacred hereditary chief, the first born of many generations of elder sons.

Happy the tribe that could claim among their members one or more well recognised *toas*, since it might in many instances mean immunity from attack or insult, to which less fortunate tribes would be subject. The presence of a famous *toa* was moreover a guarantee of success, inasmuch as his *māna* was very great, and the bravest warrior before engaging in battle with such a one, might take solemn leave of his relatives, and perchance murmur to himself these words "*Hei kona te ao-marama*" (Farewell O world of light!)—an expression not unusual under the circumstances, and significant of the fact, that the Maori recognised that the home of disembodied spirits was one of gloom and deadly quietude.

It is not easy to define the full meaning of the word *toa*, but it is properly applied to any man of extraordinary courage and good fortune who had survived dangers, wherein ordinary men would have perished. To the Maori mind the word carries a much wider significance, for to them such courage is superhuman, and hence they have evolved the

theory that a *toa* is a man specially selected and protected, a favourite of the gods of the Maori people. A Maori is naturally brave and sometimes Berserk, and the uncertainty as to both life and property which had been the normal condition of the Maoris for at least seven generations, had induced a contempt for all consequences, including death, that was almost sublime.

I sorrowfully admit that this wholesome state of mind is no longer the rule; the even balance of the Maori mind has been destroyed by a long course of Missionary teaching. The average Anglo-Saxon is so firmly impressed with the value of his Bible, that he is never quite happy unless he is thrusting it down the throat of some unhappy Hindu, Chinaman, Negro or Maori, with the hope of destroying the ancient and time honoured faith of these people, and with the actual result of raising up a few spurious Eastern Christians, who, to use the Chinaman's own words, "Tell lie and dlink lum alle same klistian." I do not say the Missionaries are wrong, but I do say that they destroy all that is interesting in a Native race. In the good old days a Maori believed in his gods; now he believes in or rather fears hell fire of the good old material type and nothing else. The result is, that we have a few wretched *tohungas* who having no knowledge of the rites and invocations of their ancient religion, pretend to cure the sick by means of pills compounded of equal portions of the Holy scriptures and Pears' soap. The combination does not appear to be a happy one for if the patient be really ill the dose usually finishes him, to the great astonishment of his relatives who cannot understand why men should die from other than natural causes, namely, wounds, witchcraft and old age, which same was undoubtedly the rule under the régime of the old time *tohunga*.

In the years preceding the adoption of Christianity, there was nothing that could induce the sentiment of fear, and therefore all Maoris were brave; the *toa* exceptionally so, but he was also something more than that, since it required a special combination of qualities, moral, intellectual and physical, to turn out a complete *toa* ready for use. Great skill with his weapons was a *sine quâ non*, also strength or activity beyond that ordinarily given to man. So also the ability to lead a war party, and think out a plan of campaign was an indispensable quality in the composition of a *toa*; but above all it was necessary that he should possess the magnetic power, which is the gift from heaven to all great men, born with them and not to be acquired by any process known to mankind. This last qualification is known to and identified by the Maori under the name of *māna*; a very useful word, and one that fits many phases of human character, and

specially applies to that, which for want of a better term, I call magnetic influence, the power often felt, but seldom mentioned, but which alone gives certain men and women extraordinary power over their fellows.

Given a man possessing the qualities I have mentioned, and you have a *toa*; a man who by his very presence could infuse terror into the rank and file of his foes, by virtue of the doubt that would naturally occur to them as to their ability to cope with so dread an enemy. But however potent the *māna* of a *toa*, sooner or later that *māna* would fail him, and he would meet his death at the hands of some young warrior, whose star was rising slowly but surely above the horizon, and he would die caring little for death, but believing much in the power of his tribal gods, and in his own *laches* whereby those gods have been compelled to desert him in his utmost need; for be it known, that in every instance of this nature, a good and sufficient Maori reason can be given in explanation of the mischance.

Tipoki, most valient of the Ngati-Tama of Poutama, North Taranaki coast, fell by the hand of Mama; not because that great man was more skilful than his victim, but rather because the favourite granddaughter of the dead chief had disobeyed his strict injunctions, to avoid cooking or eating a certain sort of food during his absence. Her disobedience was an *aitua* and *aituas* must be expiated.

Mama himself fell at the battle of Okoki near Urenui, Taranaki, wherein the tribes of Waikato and Ngati-Maniapoto fought Te Rauparaha and the Ngati-Awa, and if we may believe the Maoris, his death was foretold—if not actually caused by an *aitua* that took place when he slew Tipoki. The blow he dealt the latter was imperfectly delivered, and disclosed loss of *māna*, and therefore coming misfortune.

In like manner the great Raparapa, second to no man that I have ever heard of, whether for strength or courage, lost his life by reason of his utter contempt for his enemies. At the great battle of Te Kakara he was attacked by the Waikato chief Te Rangi-whakaea; he warded the blow, and, disdaining to return it, seized his foe by the hair and flung him across his shoulders, intending to carry him off as a living sacrifice to the war god Tu; but it so happened that Raparapa's time had come, for he put his foot into a hole and fell, and before he could rise—encumbered as he was with his living burden—Te Awa-i-taia rushed forward and speared him.

When the combined tribes of the Arawa and Ngati-Haua met the Ngati-Maniapoto in battle at Kakamutu near the township of Otorohanga, the Arawa *toa*, Te Huare, challenged Mama to mortal combat and was then and there slain. This was an omen of success for Ngati-Maniapoto, but they were none the less defeated, for as much as

though they had slain the first man, yet for some unexplained reason Te Wharaunga failed to perform the important ceremony of *whangai hau** with the heart of the dead man though repeatedly urged to do so by Pehi Tukorehu. The last named, though a chief of the highest rank, and a most savage brute, never quite had his heart in the right place, therefore the neglect to perform this ceremony frightened him, so that he drew off his men and left his friends to their fate; the result being that they were badly beaten, and Te Wharaunga paid the penalty for his *aitua*, for he was pursued and slain many miles from the field of battle.

Other warriors of reputation like the gigantic Kiharoa fell because a long career of success had rendered them vain-glorious. So great was the pride of this man, that when challenged he went alone to meet a war party of the Ngati-Maniapoto, and was slain—some say by Te Aranui, others by Wahanui, but as I have heard, by the united efforts of the whole party. Not far from the Puniu river may be seen a trench, somewhat more than ten feet in length and of corresponding breadth, and this it is said was dug by the war party in order to preserve the exact size of Kiharoa as he lay dead, so that future generations might have some idea of the stature of the giant of the past.

In New Zealand, the use of the spear, *taiaha*, and greenstone *mere* had long been reduced to a science, and no *maitre d'arms* could have been more skilful with his rapier than a Maori warrior with his comparatively rude weapons. Moreover, any man specially cunning of fence soon became known by name throughout the North Island. Te Rito-o-te-rangi, a chief of the Kahungunu people of Te Wairoa, Hawke's Bay, is an instance in point. This man had a great reputation as a spearsman, but it so happened that during the last raid of the Waikato tribes into Te Wairoa, he and his people were forced to take refuge in a *pa* built in a bend of the Whakaki Lake, and so constructed as to be approachable on one side only. In this stronghold our chief was surrounded by his Waikato enemies, who occupied the other shores of the lake, here about fifty yards broad. During the siege, a chief of the Waikato came down to his side of the lake, and called to the garrison that he wished to see Te Rito. That warrior was sent for, and when he appeared, the Waikato said, "You have a great reputation as a spearsman, I should like to see what you can do." Now, Te Rito had a spear in his hand, so he pointed to a man standing about two hundred yards away, and said, "I could throw my spear to that man." Very incautiously the Waikato turned his head to look at the man indicated, and as he did so the spear of Te

*NOTE.—*Whangai hau* (feed the wind). The heart of the dead man was cut out and roasted, so that the essence might be absorbed by the war god.

Rito passed through him. We may presume that the curiosity of the Waikato was satisfied, for I have never heard that he complained that the reputation of Te Rito was without foundation.

Those who are only slightly acquainted with the Maoris and their history, can have but a very faint idea of the bloodthirsty disposition of this people, or of their terrible fidelity to the law of vengeance. The following narrative taken from tradition will, however, show, that neither sex nor consanguinity, can moderate the passions aroused by a blood-feud. Tore-kauae, a daughter of Tu-te-Aomarama, became the wife of Mania-taka, and after many children had been born of this union, a quarrel arose between the chief and his father-in-law, which ended in the death of Mania-taka. The relatives of the dead man flew to arms and defeated Tu-te-Aomarama, who fled and hid himself in the recesses of the Puke-tarata forest, where he was found hidden in a tree. He was carried in triumph before his own daughter, who, remembering only the fact that her husband had fallen by her father's hand, forthwith avenged him by slaying the latter.

It may be thought that this case of parricide stands alone in Maori history, but it is not so. I know of many worse cases, but will quote only one of them : Nga-rangi-kanea was the chief of a certain tribe on the East Coast, and he, conceiving himself injured by the seduction of his wife, applied to a neighbouring tribe for assistance, in order to avenge the injury. During the negotiations he overheard a remark made by one of his hosts to this effect : " What return does this man propose to make to us for our trouble ? " Rangi-kanea made no reply, but he was bitterly affronted at the implication that he was not in a position to render a suitable return for services rendered. Whatever doubt may have been felt as to the chiefs ability to reward those sent to avenge his wrongs, a war party was sent to his *pa*, Te Rere-a-kura, in order to punish the offender, and when they arrived at that stronghold, Rangi-kanea went direct to the house of his grandfather Ngareka, and called to the old man to come out as he was required as food for the war party. The old man did not at first understand his grandson's command, and asked, " Do you mean that I am to come out and be slain ? " " I do," said the chief. The old man replied, " Wait for a moment," and so saying took up a sharp-pointed *kou* or wooden spade and drove it into his own heart. The chief simply called to his allies and pointing to the dead body said, " There is your food." This terrible tragedy was simply the result of wounded vanity ; the chief's *mana* had been doubted, and his allies had despised while they assisted him ; but they could never do so again, since he had shown that at whatever sacrifice, he was a man who both could and would recognise services rendered to him.

The Ngati-Kahungunu are not altogether a war-like tribe ; but the section that has occupied the district extending from the Mahia Peninsula to the Mohaka River, has nevertheless produced some deservedly famous men. Among the most celebrated of these old-time warriors was one Tapuae, who, if not a great *toa*, was at least a man of profound ability. His chieftainship had fallen in troublous times, for his relatives Te Huki and Kotore had been slain by the tribes of the Bay of Plenty, who, both at that period and after, were the terror of the East Coast, and did pretty much as they pleased. Previous to Tapuae taking up the reigns of government, the Kahungunu of Te Wairoa and their kindred at Hawke's Bay—who were known as Te Whatu-i-apiti—had suffered severely from the raids of other tribes, and had a long and hopeless list of injuries to wipe out, but no chief had as yet appeared in the tribe with sufficient warlike ability to wipe out those injuries, the memory of which had been so carefully preserved. Very great was the satisfaction of the old fighting men when they saw that Tapuae appeared to possess the qualities so long and earnestly desired. The young man was slow but steadfast in character, and his resolute nature was disclosed by the manner in which he devoted himself to all warlike exercises, and especially to the mastery of that weapon known as the *taiaha*. He was slow in his measures, and with every reason, for his people had been disheartened by a long series of defeats, but he was very sure. Hawke's Bay, Turanganui, and other places were in turn invaded and forced to sue for peace ; but it somehow happened that Tapuae never found time or opportunity to attack the Bay of Plenty people who had slain his near relatives. It was probably not fear that stayed his hand, for as he had never known defeat his *mana* was very great ; but it was probably due to dissensions in his tribe, fomented by his own nephews, Te Otane, Te Kohuwai, and Paitaihonga, all of whom were famous *toas*. Of these three the greatest by far was Te Otane, who is famous in Maori history for the size of his *taiaha*, and for the fact that he was the first of all men to adopt the low guard for that weapon.

There had already been many desperate combats between the two sections of the Wairoa tribe, in all of which the three brothers had turned the tide of battle in favour of their own party. Again and again determined efforts had been made to kill Te Otane, for his enemies felt that if they could dispose of this man they would have a fair chance of success ; but in every instance their efforts had ended disastrously. So far, everything had been done in a strictly honourable manner, but each attempt had failed, and therefore, to the Maori mind, it became apparent that it behoved them to use a little treachery. To this end they succeeded in inducing a slave of Te Otane's to remove

and hide his master's *taiaha*, and that same night they quietly surrounded the house in which he slept and waited patiently until daybreak. In the morning Te Otane found his foes waiting for him. The situation was serious, for every time the chief put his head outside the door a dozen blows were aimed at him ; he knew, moreover, that if he delayed, his enemies would remove the thatch from the house and spear him in his cage. For this reason it was necessary that he should act at once and settle the matter one way or the other. Among other physical peculiarities of Te Otane was a very large head—and as this tale will disclose, a very thick one—probably this latter fact may not have been unknown to the owner, for he adopted the desperate resolution of risking the effect of his enemies' first blows in order to get outside and use his *mere*, the only weapon left to him. With this end in view he bounded through the low doorway, and as he did so the blows of the *taiahas* fell thick and fast on his devoted head, but according to tradition did him not the least harm. This may of course be true, but in such case all the tale has not been told. Indeed, I have heard from independent sources, that Te Otane had with him a very thick garment, which same he used for a shield to cover his head as he passed through the doorway. His escape was, however, sufficiently remarkable to inspire terror into his foes, and as man after man fell under the blows of his *mere*, they broke and fled for their lives.

This little affair greatly increased the reputation of Te Otane, so that with one single exception all men feared to face him ; but among the people with whom our hero was at variance was a very famous *toa* named Takapuui, who was held to be absolutely unrivalled in the use of the *taiaha*. This man he had now resolved to meet and kill.

Utterly reckless as to the result of his action, he went alone to the stronghold of his enemies, and then and there before all men challenged Takapuui to mortal combat. This remarkable display of courage probably saved the life of the bold warrior, since it would have been an easy matter for his foes to have dispatched him without further parley, seeing that they were hundreds to this one ; they were however too much impressed by Te Otane's bearing to accept such a simple solution of the difficulty. The challenge was accepted, and the fight took place in the presence of the whole tribe, with the result that Takapuui was slain, and Te Otane returned to his people absolute master of the situation.

During this inter-tribal quarrel, neither party had ventured to interfere with Tapuae ; who had however been kept well posted up in the doings of his valient relatives. The old man knew that he had not long to live, and it was ever present in his memory that the death of Te Huki had not been avenged. Above all things he desired that the score against the Bay of Plenty tribes should be wiped out before his

spirit took its headlong flight from the cliff of Te Reinga en route to Hades ; and there was sound policy in this desire ; for if the tribe could be brought to combine in order to avenge their ancient injuries, that fact would alone go far towards healing the family feuds that had so long sapped its strength.

To this end Tapuae sent for Te Otane, and the order was promptly obeyed, so that the first intimation that Tapuae received of his nephews presence was the sight of an enormous *taiaha* which was thrust through the door of his *whare* and presently followed by the owner himself. In those days men did not waste time in preliminaries, and Tapuae's first question was "How did you manage to kill Takapuai." Te Otane replied "By the low guard," and then proceeded to expatiate on the merits of that particular guard whether for attack or defence. As he listened Tapuae felt all the enthusiasm of his youth revive, and then and there disclosed his desire, that the death of Te Huki should be avenged. Te Otane agreed to enter heart and soul into the undertaking, and as a preliminary measure a meeting of the whole tribe was held, whereat a most solemn peace was made and proclaimed within the tribal boundaries, and the feuds which had so long paralysed the the movements of the people were for ever banished. Each *hapu* (family) sent its most famous warriors to join the war party, of which the three brothers had been unanimously elected the leaders. After much severe training and preparation for the great work, the war party marched by way of Waikare-moana and Ruatahuna, and thence by the Whakatane river to Ohiwa in the Bay of Plenty ; the destination of the small army being the *pa* of the Whakatohea tribe at Wai-o-eka. The menaced tribe were however on their guard, for they had been duly warned by their *tohunga*, who had been vouchsafed a vision or *matakite*, during which he had seen a war party of which one of the leaders had red hair, and further that the gods had informed him that this man was named Paitaihonga. When the war party drew up in front of the *pa* preparatory to the assault, the *tohunga* called to them and asked Paitaihonga to come forward. Now, it was not clear to the party why this man should be called on to show himself, and for this reason several men responded to the call in order to personate the chief, and each in turn was told that he was an imposter ; finally, Paitaihonga himself stepped forward, and was at once recognised by the *tohunga* as the man he had seen in his *matakite*.

It would seem that this instance of second sight on the part of the *tohunga* was unsatisfactory in its nature, for it did not disclose that which was of the greatest importance—namely, the result of the battle. This omission was unfortunate, for the people of the *pa*, acting under the advice of their priest, sallied boldly out, crying "*Ka maku te pueru*"

o Apanui i tenei ra " (the garments of Apanui will be moist to-day). At the first onset Te Kohuwai was wounded, and this misfortune, added to the very great reputation of the Whakatohea for warlike prowess, made the Wairoa men waver. This possibility had however been foreseen by Te Otane, who at once called on his men to retire as if in flight, his reasons being that his men had been carefully trained to run long distances, and would not therefore be exhausted by their flight though the enemy might be by following them. He also wished to draw his foes as far as possible from their *pa* so that his victory might be more complete.

Never was order more willingly obeyed; the men turned and fled, but not in disorder, Te Otane and Paitaihonga bringing up the rear, and guarding Te Kohuwai who was carried on the spears of eight men. In this way they fled towards the sea, going well within themselves and attentive to the voice of their leaders, who themselves awaited the signal from Te Otane, who, when he had gone far enough, turned suddenly, and throwing off his dogskin mat charged, shouting " Eight men are mine." Everyone within reach of his great *taiaha* was struck down, and Paitaihonga tried hard to emulate his deeds; even Te Kohuwai, wounded as he was, rushed into the fray. This sudden rally of an enemy who was supposed to be defeated created a panic among the Whakatohea, who fled towards their *pa* for shelter, losing men all along their line of retreat. By this time it was nearly dark, and hence it is said that the pursuers had to feel for the heads before they broke them, and this fact has caused the fight to be known by the name of " Whawha-po " (feeling by night). When the tide of battle had nearly reached the Wai-o-eka *Pa* a very great *toa* tried to retrieve the fortunes of the day by engaging Te Otane, but the latter struck him so terrible a blow that he not only split his head but also a young pine tree that happened to be within the sweep of the blow. It is said that the fork in the tree that resulted from this stroke can be seen even at the present day. I have not myself seen it, but I do know that no good or true descendant of Kahungunu would allow any doubt to rest on the tale I have told.

According to tradition, there was a period in the history of New Zealand when the ancestors of the Maoris were neither cruel nor blood-thirsty. I need hardly say that the period to which I refer is one very remote from the present day, and I do not know that I should have accepted the tradition as a true statement of fact had it not also been the opinion of my friend Tama-i-koha, a very notable chief of the Tuhoe people. This man, when giving evidence before the Native Land Court, said, " War and bloodshed came from beyond the seas; it came with the last migration. Previous to that we all lived at peace

one with the other." It would not be seemly for me to contradict Tama-i-koha, who was not only a very famous warrior but also a member of the tribe whose aphorism is "*Tuhoe, mounmou tangata, mounmou kai*" (Tuhoe, wasters of men and food), men who are as famous for their knowledge of their own ancient history as they are for their prowess in the field. Moreover, this statement is supported by the fact that had the old time descendants of Toi, the wood-eater, been as warlike or politic, as the crews of the latest migration of the seven canoes, the latter could never have seized on the *mana* of the new land as they undoubtedly did.

When Tama-i-koha uttered the words I have quoted, he referred to an event in the history of his tribe, when Tuhoe and Tanemoeahi, the great grand sons of Toroa, chief of the Mataatua canoe, deliberately murdered their elder brother Uemua; for no other reason than that they envied that man the power and influence, which was his birth-right as the eldest son of Tamatea. This crime was one peculiarly abhorrent to the clannish mind of the Maori, with whom blood is very much thicker than water, and hence it is that the descendants of Toroa are apt to blame the migration of that chief for all the troubles that followed the murder of Uemua.

We may, I think, take it for granted that war was not altogether unknown to the descendants of Toi, for if there was no war, why build a *pa* like that at Owahara near Maketu, the ditches of which are unusually deep, and enclose nearly seven acres. This *pa* it is said had already been constructed when the Arawa canoe landed its living freight on the banks of the Kaituna river. The motive power that would induce a people to undertake such a work must have been very strong, for in those days the only tools available were pointed sticks and flax baskets; nothing less than the instinct of self preservation would I think have induced a tribe to undertake such continuous labour. Another instance of huge lines of earthworks is the Otamaro *pa*, near Otamarakau, Bay of Plenty, which is said to have been constructed by the ancient tribe of the Kawerau. It may be that these forts were begun and finished in the first generation after the arrival of the Awara and other canoes of that migration, when the ancient people first realised what sort of men the new comers were. As for the ancient people it is possible that they were more pacific in character than the subsequent migration, but they were probably apt pupils, and soon learned the bad habits of the new comers, for in a history extending over at least 500 years, we occasionally hear of acts of generosity, but of mercy hardly ever.

Vanity was the weak point of the Maori warrior, and therefore the slightest reflection on his conduct, jest on his name, or infraction of his territorial rights, was a good and sufficient cause for war; indeed

the shedding of blood was the only method known to the Maoris whereby an affront could be wiped out. A few instances taken from Maori history will serve to illustrate my remarks on this subject.

The descendants of Uenuku-Kahutia having had some difference with their neighbours, deemed it advisable to remove for a time to some more peaceful district, and with this view migrated into the Waiapu valley, where they were well received by their friends, and lands assigned for their support. During the exploration of their new home they came across a very promising patch of fern root, which proved to be of such excellent quality that the chief declared the spot to be the *Ngakau o te whenua* (heart of the land). Now it would seem that there could be little to offend in this speech, but unfortunately for the speaker his friend and neighbour, Rongomai, had a daughter named Te Ngakau, and when the remark was reported to the father, he at once assumed that it was an insult uttered with malice aforethought, and that his daughter had been compared with fern root, in fact, spoken of as food to be eaten. Influenced by these ideas, he immediately attacked the offenders, killed the chief Koura, and drove his followers out of the valley.

Such were the weaknesses of a very valiant people, but they were amply redeemed by numerous instances of courage, loyalty, and even chivalry, displayed by the old warriors of New Zealand. At the battle of Pukerimu a small party of the Ngati-Apakura and Ngati-Ruru fought the Ngati-Raukawa and were defeated losing nearly fifty men of rank. No more desperate battle was ever fought, for though the two first named tribes were few in numbers, they were all men of birth and tried warriors. When the tide of battle turned badly against them, the war chief Hikairo missed the voice of his friend Te Ironui, and in answer to his enquiry was told that he was among the slain. Then said Hikairo "I will die also, for I have sons who will avenge me," and so saying seated himself by his dead friend and met his fate unshrinkingly. Many of Hikairo's comrades in this battle fought to the last rather than retreat. This Pukerimu disaster was really caused by a remark made after the battle of Mangeo, where the numerous war party called Hinga-kaka were defeated. The dispute arose over the question of the first man slain, Ngati-Apakura claiming the honour on one hand and Waikato on the other, until words ran high, and a younger brother of Hikairo said to the latter tribe "*He kōhi kōmai ko tahau.*" (Your part is to take our leavings.) The Waikato were deeply hurt at this speech, and replied, "*A muri mau anake tau riri*" (for the future fight your own battles), and thus it came to pass that the Ngati-Apakura found themselves at Pukerimu with numerically insufficient force.

I have mentioned the *toa* as a very valuable and much considered member of the Maori tribe, but as a veracious historian of native tradition, I am bound to admit that in this, as in all other mundane affairs, there is another side to the question, and therefore, my first statement will require qualification. A *toa* being a man of pronounced individuality, with the bump of self-esteem largely developed, was pretty certain, sooner or later, to bring more than their share of disaster on his tribe. This disaster he might, and probably would retrieve, but none the less his tribe would suffer. Much in this way was brought about the destruction of the Aupouri, that great tribe of the North who at one time could muster not less than 8000 warriors.

About one hundred and fifty years ago the Nga-Puhi could boast of two very famous fighting chiefs, Te Waha and Te Karawai. The first-named of these led a strong war party against the valiant Ngati-Whatua of Kaipara, and was almost invariably successful in his battles, but the tidings of this success irritated Te Karawai beyond measure, and finally induced him to call upon all of the Nga-Puhi who were not with Te Waha, to join him in a raid upon Te Aupouri. The whole war party did not exceed one hundred men, and it would seem that Te Karawai felt that he was doing a very foolish thing, for as he passed through the territory of the Rarawa he asked that tribe to join him, but they, for reasons known only to themselves, refused to have anything to do with the raid, and allowed Te Karawai to march to his fate attended only by his small band of Nga-Puhi.

A few plantations were plundered and women captured, but at Taumata-tauni the Aupouri put forth their strength, and Te Karawai and his merry men fought their last battle, leaving no survivors to return home and tell how their comrades had fought and died. Nevertheless, the tidings of this disaster did in due time reach the ears of Te Hotete, and Matahaia, the two leading chiefs of Nga-Puhi (?) and they at once called out every fighting man of the tribe to avenge the defeat. It is said that no less than 7000 warriors answered to the call of these two chiefs. When the news reached Te Waha at Kaipara, he proposed to suspend operations against the Ngati-Whatua, in order to join in the destruction of the Aupouri, but he was opposed by another chief Hautakere, who as a near neighbour to the Kaipara tribes, wished to finish them off in a satisfactory manner, before he engaged in any other affair. Te Waha consented to remain with Hautakere, but Roherohe a great *toa* of the Mahurehure section refused to abide by this decision, and with his 140 men marched to join Te Hotete, saying that he was unable to do his duty so long as the loss they had suffered at the hands of the Aupouri was unavenged.

So rapid were the movements of Roherohe and his party, that they overtook Te Hotete at Otangaroa, where the latter had halted his men in order to destroy the plantations of his enemy. Roherohe did not join with the main body of Nga-Puhi or lose his independence of action, but pushed forward to one of the *pas* of the Aupouri at the mouth of the Whangaroa River, which same they reached soon after midnight and there lay in ambush. In the early morning they observed the scouts of the *pa* reconnoitre the country in the neighbourhood of the *pipi* (shell fish) beds on the coast; and the chief had some difficulty in restraining his warriors who were most anxious to attack the scouts; but he held them back saying, "Your time will come presently when the people of the *pa* come forth half armed to gather the shell fish." Sure enough, when the scouts had reported all clear, the people came out in great numbers and began to collect the harvest of the sea. Then again the hundred and forty clamoured to be led against them, but the prudent Roherohe restrained their ardour saying, "Wait until they are encumbered by the loads on their backs." When the time came and Roherohe gave the signal his men charged with such fury that some two hundred men and women had fallen before the Aupouri had recovered from their panic, and when the warriors of the *pa* poured forth to protect their friends, they found the Nga-Puhi retreating rapidly and in apparent disorder. The Aupouri pursued with little regard for their own safety, but at a certain point where a tree had fallen from the cliff and partially blocked the way, Roherohe and a chosen few turned at bay. Hidden behind the tree they took the Aupouri by surprise, and several men had fallen before they realised that the Nga-Puhi were returning rapidly to the assistance of their chief, it was then too late to retire and the Aupouri lost seventy men whose heads were carried off as trophies of war. The first intimation that Te Hotete received of the success of his friends was their song of triumph as they approached his camp, and when he saw the heads of those who had slain Te Karawai, he welcomed them with a terrific war dance, and having done his duty by this function, announced that he would adopt the victory of Te Roherohe as his own and return to his home satisfied that the losses of Nga-Puhi had been amply avenged. This speech did not satisfy the other chiefs who said with reason, that Te Roherohe might return with honour to his home, but that they were in a very different position since they had not shown their courage against the common enemy. The result was that the hundred and forty returned alone to Waima, Hokianga and the seven thousand marched against the *pa* of the Aupouri and found it deserted, they, however, took possession of the stronghold, which is said to have been of such extent that the Nga-Puhi had barely sufficient men to man the outer line of defence. That night the Aupouri, who had been watching

proceedings, surrounded their old stronghold, and fiercely attacked it at grey dawn. At the first onset the Nga-Puhi fell into confusion and lost many men, for the reason that a rumour had spread among them that their great chief Te Matahaia had fallen. Fortunately, before the confusion became a panic, the old chief sounded his *putatara* (trumpet) and Nga-Puhi hearing the welcome sound closed up their ranks and defeated their foes with great loss, nor did they desist from their career of conquest, until they had almost destroyed the once famous tribe of Aupouri. As for Te Roherohe and his men, on their return to Waima, they were met with the news that Te Waha and those who remained with him at Kaipara had been slain, he therefore, proceeded without delay to the scene of action, and defeated the Ngati-Whatua in two battles, thereby ending the war with honour to his tribe.

In the good old days, the mere prospect of death did not alarm an adult male of the Maori race ; but I cannot say that he regarded the prospect of being eaten with the same equanimity. For though it might be creditable to die fighting for one's tribe, there was no credit in being eaten, or in knowing that your head might be carefully dried in an oven and exhibited to admiring strangers. My readers may probably consider such objection puerile, as mere sentiment, unworthy of so practical a people as the Maori ; but it is sentiment and not reason that governs the world, and a Maori does not necessarily regard all things from our standpoint. I will now illustrate this Maori weakness by relating how a celebrated *toa* not only avoided the oven, but also secured honourable burial side by side with his victim.

Several generations ago, Nga-tokowaru was the chief war chief of the Ngati-Raukawa tribe, he was a *toa* of the very first magnitude, and especially obnoxious to the Waikato confederacy whom he had frequently defeated, and as a natural consequence his name was widely known and much respected. There is a Maori proverb that says that a *toa taua* is a *toa pahekeheke*, and this by a very free translation may be rendered thus: "A brave warrior has a short life." Nga-tokowaru was no exception to the rule, he in turn was struck down, captured, and carried in triumph before Te Putu, an ancestor of the present Maori king. When Te Putu saw his captive, he said: "So you are the man whose fame has spread through this land. Stand up and show by what method of attack you have slain so many men." Now, Nga-tokowaru had among other weapons, been armed with a bone dagger or *tete*, which he had hidden in the fold of his *rapaki* (waistcloth) to be used as occasion might demand ; therefore, when he sprang to his feet at Te Putu's command, he was to all appearance unarmed. The chief bounded from side to side like a very lunatic dealing imaginary blows, and parrying imaginary thrusts, until he was within striking distance of Te Putu, when, drawing the *tete* from his mat he

shouted: "Behold how men die!" and plunged it into Te Putu's heart, and as the blood gushed forth, smeared it over his head and body, so that the whole thing was done in a moment. The next minute Nga-tokowaru was dead, but he had attained to the end he had in view, since by the blood of Te Putu he was now sacred, and not only could not be eaten, but his head was safe from the oven; it had, in fact, become imperative that he should receive proper burial. Such, indeed, was the view taken by his enemies who placed him in the same grave as his victim. It will, I think, be conceded that it was a glorious death, at any rate the Maoris regard it in that light, and I think there is sufficient grit left in the Anglo-Saxon to warrant them in endorsing the view taken by our Maori friends.

The fighting Ngati-Paoa whose ancestral lands are on the western shores of the Thames gulf, have produced many famous *toas*, some of whom are quite worthy of mention. Foremost among these makers of history was Te-Aho-o-te-rangi, a man who never failed to distinguish himself above his fellows, and especially so on the last occasion when acting as a scout in the Ngati-Whatua country, he suddenly found himself in the presence of the whole fighting strength of that famous tribe. On this occasion the greatness of his character asserted itself instantly. Other men equally brave, seeing the hopelessness of the situation, might have tried to save themselves by flight; but Te Aho disdained any such course. He gazed steadily upon his enemies—who had risen up all round him—as though he found something amusing in the fact of their being there, and uttered this saying which has passed into a proverb: "*Ka hua au ko te Taou anake, kaore ko Kaipara katoa.*" (I had thought to meet the Taou sub-tribe only, but here we have all Kaipara), and having uttered this speech, charged singlehanded upon the enemy, and died like a *toa*, slaying even in death.

Of the same type and same tribe was Tuaropaki, who died about the year 1840. This man was exceedingly skilful in the use of the *taiaha*, and had a profound contempt for all guns. Even at the great battle of Taumata-wiwi* he refused to use any weapon other than his *taiaha*, and thus armed he repeatedly charged the Ngati-Haua, killing many men. Tuaropaki was a very small man, but of such remarkable activity that tales somewhat passing the marvellous are told of his feats; for instance, his tribe assert most strenuously that he could jump a broad stream, and, without landing on the opposite bank, could turn in mid air and return to his starting point. The Maoris undoubtedly believe this very startling statement, and argue that nothing could be impossible to a man of *mana* like Tuaropaki.

* Near Cambridge, fought about 1830.—Ed.

Personally, I should like to believe this tale, but I fear that I cannot, at the same time I shall not confide my doubts to my Maori friends, forasmuch as they are apt to lose faith in those who doubt.

Maoris are not unlike other men, they worship success, and therefore the *toa* who dies comfortably in his own house obtains more credit than his equally valiant brother-in-arms who dies fighting against fearful odds. Such a man was Maui, chief of the Ngati-tahinga of Whaingaroa. This must have been a truly remarkable man, for his war party never exceeded one hundred and forty men, and with this small army he fought all Waikato, killing among others, Tapaue and Whare-tipeti, grandsons of Mahuta, and not only was he never beaten, but the defeats of Waikato at his hands have not to this day been wiped out. Yet another man of this class was Tiriwa, of Ngati-Apakura, who together with Huahua, turned the tide of battle in that Maori Armageddon known as Hinga-kaka, when the thousands of the south went down before the sons of Apakura, who, though few in numbers, might not be beaten by mortal man since they were *whaka-momore* (Berserk).

I have already said that Maoris are not always to be judged by our standard, and therefore, actions that appear perfectly reasonable to Europeans, are from a Maori point of view absolutely unbearable. The following tale will illustrate the peculiar turn of mind of the Maori: After one of the southern raids of Nga-Puhi, the Ngati-Wai returning homewards landed at Whangarei, and camped near the spot where the wharf now stands. From this place Te Pouroua, chief of the Ngati-Wai sent his wife Kome to her brother Te Pona, who was at that time chief of Ngati-Ruangaio with a message to the effect that the main body of Ngati-Wai desired to return overland to their homes, and therefore he asked Te Pona to allow them to pass in peace. This request was reasonable enough, for the two tribes were at peace; but the Ngati-Wai were a much stronger tribe than the Ruangaio, and it seemed to Te Pona that loss of *mana* would result if he allowed a war party to cross his lands, he therefore asked his sister how many men there were in the party. He was told that there were 700; then said Te Pona, "I have but seventy, but in your army there are not enough men to give me employment, there will be nothing for our brothers to do." With this answer Kome returned to her husband and his colleagues, Te Motuiti, and Te Paraoa, and to them related her brothers words. In the morning the 700 of Ngati-Wai began their march, and when they reached the site of the present town of Whangarei, Te Pona led out his seventy men and attacked them. The result was never a matter of doubt, all the chiefs of Ruangaio fell, including Te Pona, and his brothers Te Waikere and Te Tiwha, the men of inferior rank were driven back to their *pa*, and allowed to remain there unmolested.

The history of Te Ihi, who was beyond all doubt the most famous warrior of Nga-Puhi, and a man of extraordinary physical power, will serve to show what manner of men these *toa* were. When this great member of the Ruangaio family was sick unto death, he sent for his father Kukupa, and said, "I had thought to die on the field of battle." Kukupa understood the full meaning of his son's words, and called his warriors together, and taking with them the dying chief, started in their canoes to attack the Ngati-Whatua *pa* of Mairetahi. That same evening they arrived before that stronghold, and lay in ambush waiting for daylight. Kukupa was a man who for fifty years had been engaged in war, and he properly urged that the small party should keep together during the darkness, ready to resist attack, since it was quite possible that they had been seen by the enemy. The other chiefs paid but little attention to this wise counsel, and each man chose his own camping place with the result that Kukupa found himself almost alone with his dying son, his only companions being Te Taka and Te Tohukai, two chiefs of rank; the other members of the war party were scattered about sleeping where they could. As it so happened Kukupa was right, and the Ngati-Whatua had seen their approach, and were preparing to attack them; but just before dawn Te Taka went out to reconnoitre, and saw the forms of men moving through the mists of early morning, and believed them to be the enemy, though owing to the faulty disposition of his own people, he could not be certain on this point, he therefore returned to his shelter. He was not long in doubt for when the mist rose the Ngati-Whatua delivered their attack, and shot a few of the widely-scattered war party. Te Taka, in order to ascertain what was taking place, climbed on to the roof of an old *whare*, and Kukupa called on to his son to rise saying, "the enemy are at hand." Te Ihi rose and looked about him, but being very ill lay down again saying, "Wait until they are close to us." At last Te Taka recognised one of the Ngati-Whatua chiefs and called out, "Here is Ruarangi." When Te Ihi heard this cry he rose and charged in the direction indicated to him, and found Ruarangi—who had just been wounded—surrounded by his men. A few blows cleared the way, and the chief was slain. It is indeed said by Nga-Puhi, that he smiled as the blow fell, for he recognised that it was an honour to fall by the hand of Te Ihi. That same night the war party returned to their homes, and Te Ihi died on arrival at Mataiwaka.

Perhaps the greatest feat performed by this man was his duel with Kaea, a famous warrior of the Ngati-Paoa. Many years before this duel, the last-named tribe had raided the territory of the Parawhau at One-mania, and had there slain many men and had carried off one of Kukupa's wives, one Taupahi and her son Taurau then a baby. His elder brother Te Tirarau—who like all the men of this family was a

toa—followed boldly after the raiders in a small canoe, and called upon Kaea to give up the mother and child to him. Kaea was evidently a very noble type of man, for when he learned who his captives were he at once consented, and Te Tirarau not to be outdone in generosity, handed his gun, a very valuable piece of property in those days, to Kaea. When these two brave men parted, the latter requested Te Tirarau to tell his brother that if he wished to avenge this raid he must go to Hauraki. This speech, which seemed to cast a doubt on the ability of Te Ihi to attack Hauraki, annoyed that man so much that he never forgot the words used, and when Nga-Puhi had, through Hongi's visit to England, obtained a large supply of guns, and rose to avenge their many defeats at the hands of Ngati-Paoa, Te Ihi joined the force of Hongi Hika. Mau-inaina was the first *pa* taken,* and then Hongi turned his attention to Mokoia, the stronghold of Kaea's people. Just before the attack commenced Te Ihi instructed all of his men that whosoever should see Kaea during the fight, should shout his name, in order that he should be able to find his enemy. It so happened that Kaea's post was on the sea face of the *pa*, and when the attack commenced that man was engaged in the manufacture of a wooden club or *hani*, and was using a carpenter's adze for this purpose, and with characteristic indifference continued his work until the Nga-Puhi had forced their way into the *pa*. He then rose and made up for lost time, for Nga-Puhi themselves admit that he slew no less than forty of them with the adze aforesaid, and then finding his people panic stricken by the guns of their foes, he broke through the latter, at the same time guarding his father, a very old man, and swam a river that was on their line of retreat. The father had already gained the opposite bank, and Kaea would have been beside him in a few minutes, when Te Ihi appeared on the scene and called upon Kaea to return to meet him. The gallant Ngati-Paoa did so without the least hesitation; the two men met in the water, and Kaea was slain, but the Nga-Puhi admit that the fight was unfair, though in what particular I am unable to say.

Of the extraordinary courage, speed, and activity of Te Ihi, many tales are told, and it is also said that he was a man who never would eat human flesh, but preferred to run down a native dog when meat hungry. When the people of Rotorua were menaced by the Nga-Puhi about the year 1823, the latter tribe had at first no canoes with them, and were consequently unable to cross the lake, and had to submit to the taunts of the Arawa, who came each day in their canoes from the Island of Mokoia, and paddled to and fro just out of reach of the Nga-Puhi guns, while they shouted insulting speeches. It was this fact that caused the Nga-Puhi to take their canoes into the Waihi River, and thence by the Pongakawa stream into Lake Rotoma, from

* In November, 1821.—(Ed)

which place they dragged them overland to Rotoehu Lake, thence by a shorter portage to Rotoiti, from which place Rotorua was easily reached. When Nga-Puhi had their canoes ready on the ground they prepared a surprise for those who had insulted them. They chose their fastest canoe, and having manned it ready for action stood round it in the water so that it could not be seen from the Lake, and waited patiently till the Arawa came in the usual manner to jeer at them. Then, however, a hundred pair of hands launched their canoe in pursuit, and a desperate race for life was the result. The *pa* on Mokoia was so built that the pallisades extended far into the water so as to enclose and protect the canoes, and to reach this haven of refuge the Arawa made the most desperate exertions. Just as their efforts appeared to be crowned with success, the Nga-Puhi had drawn sufficiently near for Te Ihi, who, with one mighty leap, landed on the stern of the Arawa canoe, struck down the man nearest to him, and then almost with the same movement sprang back into his own craft, taking his victim with him.

In all these affectionate reminiscences concerning great warriors, the marvellous may be said to predominate, and I simply give the tales as I have heard them told by the tribe, but the following I have reason to believe to be true and free from exaggeration: "Shortly after the first Europeans came to New Zealand and began to cut the kauri trees for export to the penal settlements of New South Wales, an argument arose between them and the Maoris as to the running power of Te Ihi, and the Maoris backed their champion to stand by the butt of a tall Kahika until it tottered on its stump, he was then to run in the direction of the fall and outrun the tree. There was, it is said, great excitement over this trifling with a man's life; but the Maoris backed their champion, and Te Ihi performed the feat with something in hand."

There have been many men of remarkable stature among the Maoris, some of whom I have already mentioned, but the tallest man of modern days was Kiharoa, of the Ngati-Raukawa tribe. He was not, perhaps, a very great *toa*, for he cannot be compared with such men as Raparapa, Kaea, or Te Ihi; but he was a very fearless man, and known to all the tribes by his great stature. There is a cave near Otorohanga, the roof of which is about nine feet from the floor thereof, and on the roof is a stain as of red ochre (*kokoai*), and this mark it is said was made by Kiharoa, who entered the cavern, and finding the roof too low to suit his heroic stature, threw back his head and rubbed his nose, which was covered with ochre, against the roof.

The fear inspired by the presence of a great *toa* such as I have described, was simply overmastering, even to a brave people like the Maoris. But it was not altogether fear of the man, but rather fear of

the gods by whom he was protected. Tradition records that Tapaue, a famous warrior of the Ngati-Mahuta, was surprised and beset by a number of his enemies, who were intent upon taking his life; but the chief took his wife and retired to a small hill where he awaited the onset of his foes. His prowess was not, however, put to the test, the terror of his presence was alone sufficient to arrest the advance of his foes, they had no man of reputation with them, and the nearer they approached Tapaue, the less they liked the prospect, until at last, all being of one mind, they retired ignominiously.

There are many curious superstitions which, to the Maori mind, are connected with battle, murder, or sudden death; but which can hardly be conveyed to the European reader in understandable form, except by the medium of some legend, that illustrates the particular superstition. From the traditions of Ngati-Hau we learn that a chief of that tribe Tuwharemoa took to wife Tapu-te-ao, a woman of the Ngati-Apa, and lived with her at the Putiki *pa*, near Whanganui, which at that time belonged to the last-named tribe. Returning home late one night he overheard a conversation that convinced him that his wife was unfaithful. The husband did not betray his presence by either word or blow, but taking off his *toi* (a rough mat), he hung it over the doorway, so that anyone leaving the house must necessarily see it and understand the meaning of the sign. Having done this, the chief set out at once for Utapu, on the Upper Whanganui, where he hoped to induce the great chief Rua-ma-toatoa to take up his quarrel. This he found it easy to accomplish, and Rua ordered his great war canoe—hardly less sacred than himself—to be put in order. Ten men only were taken from each *pa* on the river in order to prevent the overloading of the canoe, and for this reason there was some difficulty made at Pukehika over the inclusion of a great *toa* named Tamarere, and it was only as a special favour that the famous warrior Pa-moana was taken from Operiki.

The first *pa* attacked was at Raorikia, where both Tama-rere and Pa-moana distinguished themselves. The war party then pushed on down the river after lighting a fire in the bow of the canoe for the purpose of cooking the hearts of the slain as a *whangui-hau* or offering to the gods. While this ceremony was in progress it was noticed that though the canoe was moving swiftly through the water, and against the wind, yet the smoke from the sacred fire kept steadily ahead of the canoe, and this omen, so contrary to natural law, was very properly regarded as a sign of the approval of the gods.

The important stronghold of Putiki-wharanui was found to be deserted, the force therefore went on to Whanga-ehu, where they not only stormed the *pa*, but captured the erring wife, who was forthwith slain by her husband and eaten by the warriors, as a warning to all unfaith-

ful women. From here the *tau*a moved on to attack the Paeroa *pa* near Parewanui, where a well-contested battle was fought, and the two chiefs Rangi-apu and Rangi-matata, who were the cause of all the trouble, were slain by Tamarere. After the fighting had ceased, the usual meeting was held to determine the relative merits of the *toas*, each of whom claimed to have slain the two chiefs above-mentioned, Tamarere alone made no claim. The chiefs found themselves quite unable to decide among the numerous claimants, and referred the matter to Rua-ma-toatoa, who said, "Let the *tohungas* utter their *whakatara*" (incantations over the dead), and when this had been done, he spoke to the warriors and said, "The man who can lift the dead men above his head is the man who has slain them." Each *toa* in turn attempted the feat but failed; then Tamarere rose, and saying, "I am the man," lifted the heaviest at arms length above his head, for such is the power given by the gods to any man who has slain another in fair fight!

I have already alluded to the almost insane desire for vengeance, which is so marked a characteristic of the Maori, whenever he has reason to believe he has been either insulted or injured, and will now give an historical instance of this phase of the Maori mind, which will illustrate the peculiar policy of that people.

The Ngati-Raukawa chief Poutu, having instigated the murder of Rua-wehea, *ariki* of Taupo, the latter tribe attacked and slew many of the former, and in due turn were themselves attacked by Te Ata-inutai, who stormed the Horo-tanuku *pa* on Lake Taupo, and then besieged the Whaka-angaanga stronghold, which was defended by Tama-tangaua and Rangi-ita. This *pa* he not only failed to take, but he himself was wounded and his people fell back in confusion and could not again be brought to the attack. Under these circumstances Te Ata advanced alone to the *pa*, and asked who it was that had wounded him, for he knew the appearance of the man but not his name. Several warriors stood forward and claimed the honour, but one after the other their claims were rejected, until Rangi-ita came forward and was recognised by Te Ata-inu-tai, who said, "You are but a boy and yet you have wounded me; come with me to my camp." Rangi-ita accepted the invitation, with the result that peace was made and Te Ata gave him his daughter Wai-tapu in marriage. This peace would undoubtedly have been binding had it so happened that a chief of rank, equal to that of Waikare, had fallen on the other side; but unfortunately, no chief of note had been killed on the side of Ngati-Raukawa, and for this reason the Taupo men bore in mind the fact that Ngati-Raukawa owed a debt that must sooner or later be squared. It was probably out of respect to Wai-tapu that the inevitable vengeance was delayed, but about ten years after the death of Waikare

Te Kuaha suddenly attacked and slew Te Ata at Wai-haha. This act complicated matters most unpleasantly for the children of Wai-tapu, for it since devolved upon them to avenge the death of their maternal grandfather, by killing some member of their father's tribe, lest they should be jeeringly reminded of the fact by some ill-conditioned Maori of that period, which was in fact the very thing that happened, for one of these children Tu-te-tawha, amusing himself by throwing stones into the Taupo Lake, thereby splashed one Ure-tarai, who said in his wrath, "Who are you, that you should insult people, you whose grandfather's death has not been avenged?" Tu-te-tawha went at once to his mother, for he was old enough to understand the significance of the speech and the reproach thereby conveyed. Wai-Tapu admitted that the death of Te Ata had not been avenged, and that this matter would have to be taken in hand shortly. The child made no reply to this statement, but he none the less bore the fact in mind until he had reached man's estate, when he announced his intention of taking the vengeance so long delayed. The position was so complicated that Tu himself could take no part in the business, but that difficulty could be surmounted; the aid of Whiti-Patato, a famous chief of the Ngati-Raukawa was bespoken, and he very willingly marched to avenge the death of Te Ata-inu-tai. That night the *pa* of Ngati-Tu-whare-toa, Turi-roa was attacked, but the chief, finding that he had been surprised and that the enemy were already in his *pa*, escaped to a cave that was near at hand. It was not, however, intended by either party that he should escape, since it was necessary that someone of rank should die, and to this end Whiti-Patato was directed to his hiding place. When old Turiroa heard the footsteps of the war party outside his cave, he realised the position, and enquired who led the *taua*, and whence they had come. Whiti-Patato replied, "I have been chosen to avenge the death of Te Ata." On hearing these words the doomed man knew that escape was impossible, and being a Maori, and therefore alive to the exigencies of the case, he replied calmly, "It is, good proceed," and met his death without further protest.

It may be conceded that as a rule the Maoris would prefer to avenge an injury on the actual offender; but if this be the rule the exceptions are numerous. When the Ngati-Maru had been defeated at the Totara *pa*, Thames River, by the guns of Nga-Puhi, they migrated to Maunga-tautari, and for a while lived side by side with Ngati-Raukawa, not altogether in amity, but rather in a state of mutual watchfulness. About this period a party of the Ngati-Maru visited Tauranga, and were there treacherously attacked, and Te Hiwi and others slain. Now, the Ngati-te-Rangi, of Tauranga, were not more numerous nor were they so warlike as the Ngati-Raukawa, it

might, therefore, have been fairly anticipated that Ngati-Maru would have attacked those who deserved to suffer ; they, however, did nothing so reasonable, but were satisfied by an attack on the former tribe.

It will not be out of place to say that, however low in rank or insignificant a man might be, his death at the hands of a strange tribe was invariably avenged. There was, however, an exception to the rule, for if he had been taken a prisoner of war he had become a slave, and from that time forth he was dead to his tribe, therefore, his subsequent treatment, however atrocious, would not only not be avenged but would hardly provoke comment.

All war customs were not, however, cruel or barbarous, for occasionally we find traces of something like kindly feeling, but such traces are rare and attributable for the most part to a sentiment often very strong among Maoris—viz., that blood is thicker than water. When the whole strength of the Waikato confederation had for two months besieged the Ngati-Raukawa in the Hangahanga stronghold in the Upper Thames District, and had reduced that unfortunate tribe to the last extremity of hunger and thirst, so that a few more days would have settled their fate, Te Akanui, of Ngati-Maniapoto, remembered that he was related to them, and taking advantage of the fact that his own tribe were guarding the *pa* for that night he visited his half-starved friends, and advised them to fly at once, promising that his own people should cover their retreat. His advice was taken, and most of the Ngati-Raukawa escaped. It is true that the aged and infirm members of the tribe were overtaken and slain by the fierce Waikato, but that mattered little, for the flying tribe were rather strengthened than otherwise by getting rid of their impedimenta.

All of this is very dreadful, if we take the modern humanitarian view, for at present we seem to take a mysterious satisfaction in the announcement that Mr. or Mrs. So-and-so had lived to the great age of 95 years ; but we also forget to mention the fact that for the last 20 years of their life these same people had been an economical loss to the State, and, more or less, a nuisance to themselves and all connected with them. It is also our custom to save and doctor up all hereditarily unsound and lunatic people in order that they may reproduce their ailments throughout succeeding generations. The Maoris understand their duties to their tribe better than we do, and it is probable that in the next hundred years, when the food supply becomes restricted, we also may have to eliminate the useless members of each community by a process of natural selection.

That the *toa* did, in almost every instance, die a violently natural death does not verify the old adage "that those who live by the sword shall die by that weapon." The Maori view that so long as the *mana* of a *toa* endured so long was he unconquerable, and by parity of

reasoning, if a man was slain he must have lost his *mana*. Such loss might occur in many ways—either by his own act or default, or by the act or default of others. A person of inferior rank stepping over another as he slept would for the time being deprive the person so treated of his *mana*; and it is known to every good Arawa that it was this very thing that deprived their great *tohunga*, Te Unuaho, of his influence with the gods on the day that Mokoia was stormed, when Te Unuaho attempted to redeem his promise and swamp the Nga-Puhi canoes as they crossed Lake Rotorua. The Nga-Puhi say that Te Unuaho did raise a storm, but that he was out-manouvered by their man Kaiteke, who calmed the waters by the simple expedient of placing the bones of a celebrated ancestor therein. Woe to the man who would decide where *tohungas* differ!

Above all, it behoved a *toa* that he should pay attention to omens and such like, but, unfortunately, this class of man was so constituted that they paid but little attention to any law (either human or divine), and for this reason a *toa* seldom attained to the three score and ten so much desired by civilised communities. To organise a war party while the house of the head chief was in course of erection, was regarded by the Maoris as a defiance to the gods, and, therefore, it has ever been their rule that a house of this description must be finished before any important project could be entertained by the tribe; but even here the *toa* has been known to interfere to the utter destruction of his tribe. About the year 1889, the chiefs Te Kotuku, Whakarau and others, conceived that they had been injured by the Nga-Rauru, of Waitotara, and consulted Te Heuheu, the greatest leader of all Taupo, as to raising a war party to attack the common enemy. About that time Te Heuheu was building a house, and he naturally replied that nothing could be done until the house was finished. Probably the chief had been abrupt in his manner, and had thereby affronted these men whose rank was certainly equal to his own, but whatsoever the cause, Te Kotuku ignored Te Heuheu and went his own way, with the result that very few of his men ever returned to Taupo, and all the chiefs were slain. Te Kotuku performed prodigies of valour, but none the less his bones whiten the Patoka Hill.*

“*Te Kuri unu toto.*” The dog that draws blood, is a proverb that has been applied to a very famous chief of the Tuhoe people. This man, Te Purewa, died so lately as the year 1880, and among other brave actions recorded in his favour, it is said that while on his way through the forest to Ruatahuna, accompanied by one slave only, he came suddenly face to face with a war party of Ngati-Pahauwera.

* The spot where he fell was *tapu* to all the people of the district even up to within 20 years ago, and may be so still to some of them.—Ed.

He was instantly recognised by Te Horua, the chief of the party, who shouted "*Te ika o te kupenga*" (the prize fish). Te Purewa toa though he was, had at first tried to hide himself by springing behind a giant *totara*; he was, however, seen before he reached its shelter. Te Horua rushed forward to attack him, but Te Purewa, armed only with his *mere*, "*Te Kapua*," slew him before his people could come to his assistance, and then raising his voice to its utmost pitch shouted, "*Kokiri! kokiri!*" (charge! charge!) His slave joined in this war cry, and the forest echoes taking up the cry, caused the warriors to believe they had met a numerous section of Tuhoe. This belief, together with the fall of their chief, made them hesitate and fall back, and so sealed their fate, for Te Purewa who was a man of great physical power and activity, charged them at once, and followed the flying warriors even to the borders of their own country. It is said that but few of them reached their homes. This, however, may be taken for what it is worth, but the fact remains that Te Purewa, by virtue of his skill, courage, and activity had defeated fifty men with severe loss.

No account purporting to describe the great fighting men of the Maori people would be complete if Tu-whaka-iri-ora, of the Ngati-Porou be left unmentioned. This man rose to power and eminence among his fellows by his own unaided efforts, depending nothing on his birth, and having no tribe at his back. He nevertheless succeeded in all his undertakings, and for some years before his death was the acknowledged chief of all the numerous families of Ngati-Porou, and his *mana* extended from Opotiki in the Bay of Plenty, to Poverty Bay in the south, and to this day the chiefs of Ngati-Porou are in every instance descended from his eldest son.

The father and grandfather of Tu-whakairi-ora were not great chiefs, they were moreover, fugitives from Whangara, whence, for some small offence, they had been driven to take shelter at Opotiki. The mother of our hero (Te Ata-a-kura), was a woman of very great force of character, and one who had many injuries to avenge, for her father, Porou-mata, had been murdered by the Ngati-Ruanuku, and his people driven from their homes and scattered among the kindred tribes of Turanganui. To avenge these wrongs, Te Ata-a-kura solemnly devoted her unborn son, using the most powerful invocations known to the *tohungas* of her tribe, and to this fact the Maoris ascribe the ability both political and warlike, that was subsequently shown by their great ancestor. Whatsoever the cause may have been, very certain it is, that this man did accomplish the apparently hopeless task set him by his mother; and to his credit it may be said that he did not follow in the footsteps of so many warriors and degenerate into a mere bloodthirsty savage; nor did he for the most part reduce those whom

he had to chastise into a condition of slavery; but none the less by his own nobility of mind, and force of character, he rose from the position of a tribeless and landless man to be the leading chief of his tribe.

Every tale that is told of this chief shows how superior he was to all the men of his generation. That he did kill men when the occasion arose is quite true, but the killing of men was not the purpose of his life, as it was with so many great warriors.

At this stage of his life Tu-whakairi-ora had neither land nor tribe, he had therefore, no easy task before him when he resolved to attack the Ngati-Ruanuku. But nothing is impossible to a really great man, and as our hero was the fortunate possessor of an imposing presence, great courage, and skill with his weapons, he did not find it difficult to ingratiate himself with the neighbouring tribes, and impress them with his strong individuality, with the result that many of the bolder spirits of the Ngati-Ranginui of Tauranga and Ngati-Uekahikatea of Opotiki attached themselves to him and promised whatever support he might require.

The first step of Tu-whakairi-ora on the road to fame led him to Whare-kahika, or Hick's Bay, where he visited Te Aotaki a chief of the Ngai-Tuere, and had the good fortune to be accepted as the husband of his daughter, Rua-taupare. The Ngai-Tuere had obtained their footing in Hick's Bay only a few years previously, when they had joined with Uetaha, and assisted him to take the lands of his maternal ancestor Rua-Waipu from the intruding Nga-Oho. The marriage with Rua-Taupere laid the foundation of her husband's power, for he forthwith established himself in the O-kauwharetoa *pa* on the banks of the Awatere Creek on land given to his wife as a marriage present. About this period also, his brother Hukarere married a daughter of Uetaha, which still further increased the family power and gave them all the land between the Awatere and Karaka-tuwhero streams. Here the brothers lived for many years, consolidating their power and keeping steadily in view the vengeance to be taken. It was probably with this purpose that Tu reconnoitred beyond the East Cape, accompanied only by his two dogs Tamure-haua and Tu-moana-wairau. On his return journey these dogs were allowed to roam about in advance of their master, and so turned off the beach in the direction of Rangi-ahua *pa*. When Tu missed his companions he called to them only one responded, and knowing that the Maori of that day had a very decided taste for dogs meat, he went to the village below the *pa*, where he met two men and a woman, and asked them if they had seen his dog. They replied that they had not, but as he turned away he heard a sneering remark from one of the men that convinced him that they had killed the animal. Tu was prompt to act, and in an instant

he had drawn his *mere paraoa* and the two men, Whata and Wahieroa, lay dead while the woman fled shrieking to the *pa* for aid. Having executed this very natural act of vengeance, the chief calmly resumed his journey, undisturbed by the knowledge that all the warriors of the *pa* were now in full pursuit and thirsting for his blood. When Matapokia, the swiftest of his foes had nearly overtaken him, Tu turned suddenly, warded off the thrust made at him, and slew his enemy. The same fate overtook Pito, and then Tu-whakairi-ora knowing that one man cannot fight a war party without some advantage of position, made for a rocky islet known as Te Hekawa, which may still be seen just below high water mark. This rock has but one narrow path by which it may be climbed, and on the summit our chief took his stand, surrounded by his foes and scarce fifty feet above them; but in such a position that the aforesaid foes were by no means anxious to come to close quarters.

Here Tu defended himself for some time, aided by the chivalrous behaviour of one of his foes Putekiteki, who was so pleased with the address shown by our chief that he threw him a spear, and called to him to catch it. While these things were passing, his brother, Hukarere, who was fishing at a short distance, recognised that his brother was in difficulties, and brought his canoe as near to the rock as possible, and Tu, seizing his opportunity, leaped into the sea and was rescued.

No bad feeling resulted from this little episode, indeed, the very men who had tried to kill Tu-whakairi-ora were subsequently his best friends, for they formed part of the army with which he avenged the death of Poroumata, and destroyed the Ngati-Ruanuku. This tribe is said to have been brought by Tahu from the South Island of New Zealand, but wherever they may have come from, I am of opinion that they were a section of the tribe of the same name who may still be found living on the island of Mangaia, of the Cook Group, and like all of the people of the East Coast had migrated from that group.

It would be wearysome to write a history of all the achievements of Tu-whakairi-ora, it will be sufficient to say that he established his family permanently, so that we have in our own time seen their *mana* in the person of Te Kani-a-Takirau, who was not a warrior, but nevertheless the greatest chief of New Zealand. His grand mother, the famous Hine-matiore was regarded as absolutely sacred.



NOTES AND QUERIES.

[173] New Zealand Origin of the Manihiki Islands.

It is a very singular thing that the people of Penrhyn (Tongareva) and Manihiki Islands, lying north of Rarotonga, insist that their ancestors came from Hawaiki-tautau (which is the Rarotongan name for New Zealand), though they cannot now say whether it was Mahuta or his ancestors that came thence, but I fancy the latter. Old "Bob" who is the present representative of the Mahuta family, had a long talk with me not long ago, and told me that before the times of Tangiia and Karika of Rarotonga (*circa* 1250) people came to these Northern Islands from New Zealand.—W. E. GUDGON.

(We may add to the above, that the Manihiki people have preserved certainly one, if not more, of old Moriori traditions, not recorded by the Maori, or apparently by the Rarotongans. It is quite possible, though evidence is wanting, that these stories may have been taken to those parts by Awa-morehurehu of the *Tangata-whenua* people of New Zealand, who went to those parts about the time of Tangiia mentioned above.—ED.)

[174] Nuku-mai-tore, the Manihiki Version.

I was talking with a chief of Manihiki Island, not long ago, and he told me the following: "In early days of their history, the 'Ara-a-toka' canoe, under the direction of the chiefs Tu-ao, Toka, Toko, and Tikitiki-a-rangi sailed away on a voyage of discovery, and among other places visited was Nuku-mau-tere, on which island they found only women living. One of the crew named Wai-kohu went among the women, and in the struggle as to who should keep the man, he was killed. On the return of the canoe, the crew reported that it would take a thousand nights to reach the nearest land. For this reason the Manihiki people stayed at home for many generations, until at last a young *ariki* led the way and re-discovered Samoa, Pukapuka, and other islands."

(In the above story we may recognise the incidents related in the Maori story of the voyage of Whiro and Tura, who visited an island inhabited solely by women, one of whom Tura married. These people were called Nuku-mai-tore, a mere dialectal variation of the Manihiki name Nuku-mau-tere.—ED.)



TRANSACTIONS AND PROCEEDINGS POLYNESIAN SOCIETY.

Minutes of a Meeting of the Council held on Monday, 5th December, 1904.

Present:—Messrs. W. L. Newman, in the chair, W. Kerr, J. H. Parker and W. H. Skinner.

Minutes read and confirmed.

The President notified that His Excellency Lord Plunket had accepted the position as Patron to the Society.

The following new members were elected:—

- 361 Right Hon. Sir Samuel James Way, Bart., P.C., Chief Justice, Adelaide, South Australia. Nominated by Dr. Hocken.
- 362 J. W. A. Marchant, Surveyor-General, Wellington. Nominated by S. P. Smith.
- 363 H. J. Matthews, Chief Forester, Wellington. Nominated by S. P. Smith.
- 364 Wellwood Reeve, Tolaga Bay, Gisborne. Nominated by Rev. H. W. Williams.

It was resolved that five members should be struck off the roll for non-payment of subscriptions.

The following list of exchanges, &c., was read:—

- 1649-50-51 *The Geographical Journal*. April, May, June, 1904.
- 1652-3 *Na Mata*. May, June, 1904.
- 1654-5 *Science of Man*. May, June, 1904.
- 1656 *Nests and Eggs, Australia and Tasmania*. Part IV., Australian Museum.
- 1657-8 *Revue de l'Ecole d'Anthropologie*. April, May, 1904.
- 1659 *The American Antiquarian*. Vol. xxv, No. 6.
- 1660 *Records, Australian Museum*. Vol. v, No. 4.
- 1161 *Archivio per L'Anthropologia*, Vol. xxxiii, No. 3.
- 1662-3 *Journal Royal Colonial Institute*. May, June, 1904.
- 1664-5 *La Géographie*. Nov., Dec., 1903.
- 1666 *Vorläufiger Bericht über den Palolo wurm*. Dr. W. McM. Woodworth.
- 1667 *Preliminary Report on the "Palolo" Worm of Samoa*. Dr. W. McM. Woodworth.
- 1668 *The Alaska Boundary*. By Geo. Davidson, San Francisco.

- 1669-70 *Journal Anthropological Society*. July-Dec., 1903. Jan.-June, 1904.
- 1671-2 *Proceedings Canadian Inst.* July, 1904. *Transactions Canadian Inst.* March, 1904.
- 1673 *Mededackingen Omtrent Beloe of Midden-Timor*. Bataviaasch Genootschap. Deel liv.
- 1674 *Karo-Bataksche Vertellingen, &c.* Bataviaasch Genootschap. Deel lvi.
- 1675 *Catalogus der Munten en Amuletten van China, Japan, Corea, en Annam, &c.* Bataviaasch Genootschap.
- 1676 *Dagh-Register, Casteel Batavia, year 1677*. Bataviaasch Genootschap.
- 1677 *Tijdschrift voor Indische-, Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde*. Bataviaasch Genootschap. Deel xlvii, Af. 5
- 1678-79-80 *Notulen van de Algemeene, &c.* Bataviaasch Genootschap. Deel xli—Af. 4—Deel xlii—Af. 1 and 2.
- 1881-2 *Kongl Vitterhets Historie, &c. Manadsplad 1898 och 1899. 1901 och 1902.*
- 1683 *Register of the Kamehameha Schools, 1903-4.*
- 1684 *Occasional Papers, Bernice Pauahi. Bishop Museum.* Vol. ii, No. 2.
- 1685-6-7 *The Geographical Journal*. July, Aug., Oct., 1904.
- 1688-9-90 *Revue Mensuelle de l'École d'Anthropologie de Paris.* June to Oct., 1904.
- 1692-3-4-5 *La Géographie*. Vol. ix, 2, 3, 4, 5.
- 1696-7-8 *Bulletins et Memoires, Société D'Anthropologie de Paris, 1904.* 1, 4, 5.
- 1699 *The American Antiquarian*. Vol. xxvi, No. 1, 3, 4, 5. 1700, 01, 02.
- 1703 *Annual Report, Department of Mines.* N.S. Wales, 1904.
- 1704 *Report of Trustees, Public Library, Museum, &c.* Melbourne, 1908.
- 1705 *Australian Museum, Nests and Eggs of Birds, &c.* Vol. 1. Title, Contents, &c.
- 1706-7 *Science of Man*. Sydney, July and August, 1904.
- 1708-9-10 *Memorias de la Real Academia de Ciencias y Artes de Barcelona*. Vol. iv, No. 37, 38, 39.
- 1711-12-13-14 *Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*. Parts 1 and 2 1903, 1 and 2 1904, part 3 1904.
- 1713-14 *Transactions Wisconsin Academy of Science, Arts and Letters*. Vol. xiii, part 2. Vol. xiv, part 1.
- 1715 *Transactions, Department of Archaeology, University of Pennsylvania*. Vol. 1, parts 1 and 2.
- 1716-17-18-19-20 *Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*. Band xxxiii—1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. Band xxxiv, part 2.
- 1721 *Journal Royal Colonial Institute*. July, 1904.
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